



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Digitized by Google

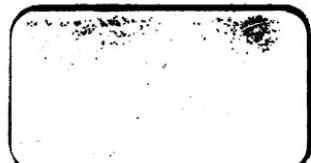
UR
CS

sh/l

3/13/

**PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
BY THE RHODES TRUSTEES**

620.1 + 32:



A
SUCCINCT STATEMENT
OF
THE KAFFER'S CASE;
COMPRISING
FACTS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CAUSES OF THE LATE WAR,
AND OF THE
INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS:
IN
A LETTER
TO
T. FOWELL BUXTON, ESQ. M.P.
CHAIRMAN OF THE ABORIGINES COMMITTEE,
&c. &c. &c.
SUPPORTED BY REFERENCES TO EVIDENCE, ADDUCED BEFORE THAT COMMITTEE,
PREPARATORY TO SOME LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENT, PROTECTIVE OF THE
ABORIGINES BORDERING UPON BRITISH COLONIES.

BY
STEPHEN KAY,
LATE MISSIONARY,
AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES IN CAFFRARIA."

London:
PUBLISHED BY HAMILTON ADAMS, & CO. PATERNOSTER ROW.
NOTTINGHAM: W. DEARDEN.
1837.

Bf. from F. Edwards.



A

LETTER

TO

T. FOWELL BUXTON, ESQ. M.P.

&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

Two or three considerations press upon me the duty of thus publicly addressing you upon a subject which is fraught with more than ordinary interest, and which I know you have long been patiently, and assiduously investigating.

Fearing, when before "the Select Committee," to trespass too much upon your valuable time, several facts and observations which I had intended to advance were not brought forward: convinced, however, that his Majesty's Government is most laudably anxious to obtain all possible information respecting the Aborigines connected with, and bordering upon our various colonies, I feel it imperative to leave nothing undone that may seem at all likely to promote the grand object at which you are aiming.—Being "debtor" moreover not only "to the wise," but "to the unwise,"—yea "to the barbarians" also, they having frequently "shewn us no small kindness," I still owe something to the Kaffer tribes who are not here to defend themselves, but who are nevertheless denounced before the British public

B

as a most *incurable, irreclaimable, and sanguinary* race of beings. Thus are we again thrown back upon the crude estimate of this people, which was formed at a period when the historian of one of our slave colonies thought that "an Ourang-Outang would make an appropriate husband for a Hottentot female;" and when, influenced by similar prejudices, the legislators of Bermuda could gravely enact that "Whereas the negroes, from the brutishness of their nature, are not regarded as men, no man shall suffer in property or person, who shall happen to *kill one* of them." "In the times of ignorance," such views might be "winked at;" but it is more than lamentable that a serious attempt should, in 1837, be made to confirm those favourite dogmas of the old Dutch boors, numbers of whose descendants are now honourably disclaiming all such notions.

This being the case, however, something is loudly called for, to disabuse the public mind, and especially the religious part of it, upon whose benevolent sympathies, and zealous exertions, the civilization, and indeed the salvation of the African must, after all, mainly depend. I have, therefore, been induced to draw out a *condensed view* of the real situation of our sable neighbours; which, notwithstanding the numerous publications now extant, and which less or more bear upon this subject, is still deemed a desideratum.

It might not indeed be altogether out of place, were I here to assign a third reason for entering so fully into this question, having myself been unexpectedly mixed up with it, and even assailed for having, some time ago, called public attention to some of the painful facts involved in it. On looking over the printed Minutes of evidence taken before the "Aborigines Committee" in August, 1835, but which I never saw until February last,—I find a letter, from one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to the Hon. Capt. Stockenstrom, late Commissioner-General,

and now Lieut.-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in which special inquiry is made respecting certain matters recorded in my "Caffrarian Researches," and repeatedly alluded to by the late Thos. Pringle Esq. in his "African Sketches." In his reply to that letter, Capt. S. is pleased to make the following frank, and explicit admission, viz. "Some of the most heinous things they (Messrs. Kay and Pringle) have said, I know to be quite true; and have never scrupled openly to give my sentiments on them."^{*} Constituting then, according to the Hon. Col. W. late acting Governor of the Cape Colony, "two of the Authorities, whose statements of alleged outrages committed upon the Kaffers have chiefly been relied upon,"[†] a most determined effort, seems to have been put forth before the Committee, to neutralize, if not wholly to nullify our testimony concerning those "outrages." "Facts," however, "*are stubborn things.*" The evidence alluded to having now been before the public for some time, we might, in all fairness, plead the right of self-defence; but higher grounds than those of mere personal consideration, shall form our stand on the present occasion.

Allow me, Sir, once for all, to observe that it has never been my wish to appear in the arena of politics. "That I should ever be honoured by such a delicate investigation of my political opinions was what I never could have anticipated, in the wildest dreams of unfledged vanity. Honour, however, has been thrust upon me, as upon Malvolio."[‡] On the political part of what we may term the Kaffer question, which is now in fact completely merged in that of humanity, I have uniformly made a point of saying as little as possible; and to the natives themselves nothing at all, lest it should produce the disaffection towards our government inevitably consequent upon their becoming fully acquainted

* Min. Evid. p. 122. + Ibid. p. 417.

‡ Southey's letter to Wm. Smith Esq. M. P.

with our views *here*, as differing so very widely from our *practice there*. To this line of procedure I have been prompted by connexional principles, as well as by a personal aversion to every thing in the shape of political debate: such feelings, however, and such principles are very far from possessing anything like an unyielding character, when the claims of justice, and the cries of humanity demand attention. And, as already intimated, such is the spirit now evinced towards the unfortunate Kaffer, and such the language used in certain quarters respecting him, as to render *silence*, at the present juncture, little less than downright criminality in all who are at all acquainted with his wretched condition.

I beg leave still further to premise, that the view herein exhibited of the Aborigines of Southern Africa, is the result of personal and close observation during a period of nearly eleven years; and that although now thrown into an honourable association with the friends of the African, far beyond my most sanguine expectations, I had little or no personal acquaintance with the author of "the African Sketches," nor indeed with any of those gentlemen whom the late acting governor has, in the course of his evidence, singled out as special objects of attack. This remark is the more necessary, as an impression has gone forth in the colony, and, as it would seem, amongst individuals in this country also, that all who have deemed it their duty to advocate the Kaffer's cause were acting in concert under the influence of prejudice, or a political spirit; and in order to the accomplishment of mere party purposes. Enough perhaps has already been said with regard to the former part of this charge; and as to party purposes, I have none to accomplish; nor have I indeed any interest in the matter whatever, apart from that which legitimately arises out of the high responsibility devolving upon a *returned missionary*, a responsibility which necessarily binds me, by all

possible means, to promote not only their spiritual interests, but their temporal welfare also. Trusting that both will be effectually and permanently advanced by the praiseworthy labours of the "Select Committee;" and being anxiously desirous moreover, of seeing such a change in our Frontier Policy as will henceforward secure to the natives the rights of common justice, and the respect due to fellow-men, I am led respectfully to submit the following facts and arguments; whence, I trust, the absolute necessity of an entirely new system will be fully apparent. And I do this the more boldly, because convinced that nothing more is required than the practical working out of those *great principles* which have been uniformly recognised by the British government, *at home*, but which, in some instances, have been trampled under foot, and in others kept almost wholly inoperative *abroad*.

These principles are luminously set forth in the Address to his Majesty, which passed the House of Commons unanimously, July, 1834; and which states—"that his Majesty's faithful Commons, in Parliament assembled, are deeply impressed with the duty of acting upon the principles of justice and humanity, in the intercourse and relations of this country, with the native inhabitants of its colonial settlements, of affording them protection in the enjoyment of their civil rights, and of imparting to them that degree of civilization, and that religion with which providence has blessed this nation; and humbly prays that his Majesty will take such measures, and give such directions to the governors and officers of his Majesty's colonies, settlements, and plantations, as shall secure to the natives the due observance of justice, and the protection of their rights, promote the spread of civilization amongst them, and lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the christian religion."

This, as observed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

" So far from being the expression of any new principle, only embodies and recognizes principles on which the British government has for a considerable time been disposed to act." Nay even as far back as the year 1670, we find the following instructions addressed by King Charles II. to the Council of Foreign Plantations, viz.

" FORASMUCH as most of our said colonies do border upon the Indians, and peace is not to be expected without the due observance and preservation of justice to them, you are in our name to command all the governors, that they at no time give just provocation to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us, &c. " * * * Then with regard to the Indians desirous of putting themselves under our protection that they they "*be received.*" " And that the governors do by all ways seek firmly to oblige them. And that they do employ some persons to learn the language of them. And that they do not only carefully protect, and defend them from adversaries, but that they more especially take care that none of our own subjects, nor any of their servants do any way harm them. And that if any do offer any violence to them in their persons, goods, or possessions, the said governors to severely punish the said injuries, agreeably to justice and right. And you are to consider how the Indians and Slaves may be best instructed and invited to the Christian religion, it being both for the honour of the Crown, and of the Protestant religion itself, that all persons within any of our territories, though never so remote, should be taught the knowledge of God, and be acquainted with the mysteries of salvation."

Had these great principles been carried out amongst the various tribes bordering upon our Cape Colony, a very different state of things would at this moment have presented itself. Instead of this, however, to say nothing of the minor evils introduced amongst them, of the manner in which religious improvement has, until within the last few years, been absolutely denied to them, or of the enormous expenses unavoidably attendant upon the present system of *military coercion*, their property has been unjustly seized;—their territory usurped;—and the whole nation punished as aggressors whenever disposed to resent these injuries, or to maintain a claim to the lands of their ancestors. Nay,

because a comparatively small section of this nation unhappily determined, in 1834, to fight for their rights, the whole must now forsooth be proclaimed a most "blood-thirsty race of beings." Herein we maintain that

I. The true character of the Kaffer has been grossly misrepresented.

On this point, however, I beg to guard against all misunderstanding. Like the celebrated French Traveller, Vaillant, various writers have indulged in the most glowing descriptions of this people, ascribing to them all the virtue of "*innocent children of nature*," with little or no vice. This, as every one must know who has studied human nature at all, and who gives anything like due credence to the truths of sacred writ, is *altogether illusive*. The Kaffers are not only fallen creatures in common with ourselves, but decidedly heathenish, and exceedingly superstitious; and notwithstanding the proud self-respect, which in many of their chiefs especially, often produces a noble bearing, and apparent magnanimity of conduct, rendering them highly imposing to the eye of a stranger, they are universally and deeply depraved, and subject to the numerous evils of Paganism as it exists in Caffraria. These, moreover, are not a little fostered by the feudal system of government which, from time immemorial, has obtained amongst them, frequently inducing the unhappy conclusion that "might gives right." Having from infancy been accustomed to hear this doctrine maintained, and to see it practised not only by tribe against tribe, but by white against black, it is surely not very surprising that their views of the absolute sacredness of private property should be anything but clear; and being likewise in "gross darkness" respecting a *future state of existence* and "judgment to come," the comparatively trifling value put even upon life also is very easily accounted for. Notwithstanding all this, however, the Kaffers are very far from being incapable of gratitude, or insensible of kindness.

Let kindness be properly shown to them, and they will undoubtedly reciprocate: endeavour to persuade them that *wrong* is *right*, and, with a noble independence of spirit, they will immediately, call for your "strong reasons:" yea and if we continue to wrong them they will in all probability continue to resent such a mode of proceeding as frequently and as fully as their means may enable them.

Now in the parliamentary papers, published by order of the House of Commons in 1835, we find this people sweepingly, and repeatedly designated "a nation of atrocious and indomitable savages." And again, in the printed Minutes of evidence given before the Aborigines Committee, one of the witnesses (at Quest. 1199) makes the following bold assertion:

"I know the Kaffers to be blood-thirsty and savage, beyond measure. I have made myself acquainted, as much as possible, with the nature of man,—and the nature of man in all countries; and I do not believe that there is a more blood-thirsty character in existence than the Kaffer. I think that the New Zealander is not worse than he is."—And then in one of the governor's dispatches to the Secretary of State, we are further told, "that the Kaffers are not inaptly compared to wolves, [which in truth they resemble very much]; which, if they are caught young, may be brought [for their own interests and gratification in the matter] to an appearance of tameness, but which invariably throw it off, and appear in all the native fierceness of the woods as soon as the temptation of blood and ravage, which never fails to elicit their natural ferocity, presents itself to their *instinctive thirst for it.*"*

If such language be really designed here to pass as truly descriptive of the people alluded to, and if declarations are to be weighed by the British public according to the rank and station of the parties making them, it would certainly argue criminal supineness and neglect somewhere, if the above statements were allowed to go unnoticed. Had the Hon. Capt. Stockenstrom thus expressed himself, it would have been somewhat excusable, his father having been murdered by a party of natives some years ago, during

* Parliamentary Papers on Kaffer War, p. 17.

a period of great excitement. This gentleman, however, with a perfect knowledge of the tribes, having been a near neighbour to them from his very childhood, declares "the Kaffers are barbarians, but not savages; it is a mistake to call them savages, as much as to call them gentle and inoffensive." "They cannot," adds he, "be called even a nation of thieves; there are plunderers amongst them; but I believe there are civilized nations in which the proportion of thieves is greater." To this opinion we may add two or three facts which defy refutation. *First;* Our TRADERS, notwithstanding the unrighteous, and even outrageous acts of individuals have for years been permitted to go in and out amongst them unmolested, with very few exceptions; and out of *two hundred* of these, who, with their families, [in many instances,] appear to have actually been in Caffaria at the very time the war broke out, two or three only were murdered. The natives had doubtless opportunity for murdering many more, if so disposed, and certainly would have done it, had they been so "*instinctively blood-thirsty*" as above stated. *Secondly;* TRAVELLERS as well as traders have been constantly passing, and re-passing, through their country,—encamping in their hamlets, and sleeping in their huts, without either lock, or bolt, or even door but what might at any time be pushed open by a dog. All this is well known to the gentleman who represents them as *worse than the New Zealander*, he having, to my certain knowledge, gone in and out amongst them repeatedly, but I am not aware that any violence was ever attempted upon him by night or by day. *Thirdly;* MISSIONARIES also with their families have for the last fifteen, or sixteen years been dwelling in their midst—some sixty or seventy miles from the colony; some a hundred, and others full three times that distance. Circumstances have occasionally obliged us to leave our families on the stations for weeks together; and the writer

was once nearly two months amongst the more distant tribes without a single European companion, or civilized family within hundreds of miles of him, surrounded by thousands of natives every day, and by scores every night, without sustaining any personal injury whatever.

All will doubtless admit that these facts do not exhibit much proof of *blood-thirstiness*; nor do they prove the South African to be very much like "the New Zealander." The most marvellous part of the story, however, is yet untold. Whilst all this hue and cry is sounding in our ears about the sanguinary character, and wolfish disposition of the Aborigines, whose immediate contiguity is said to place the colonists in constant danger, numbers of colonists are actually throwing themselves and families into the very midst of them, both on the *Eastern Coast*, and on the *Northern frontiers!* According to the testimony of one of the American Missionaries on the spot, "the whole country, in the immediate vicinage of Port Natal, is literally whitened with the tents and waggons" of these colonial emigrants; and the clans in that neighbourhood, be it remembered, have ever been considered the *most barbarous* and warlike of *our neighbours*. Whilst such inroads, however, have frequently been made by our fellow subjects, upon the domains of the native, it is most positively asserted that the frontier tribes "have all along been the unprovoked aggressors," and that their late attack upon the colony must be regarded in no other light than as *the natural out breaking of a "blood-thirsty spirit."*

Could we indeed look at their recent proceedings, *apart* from any other event, we might probably arrive at a similar conclusion; but colonial history, supported by personal observation, convinces us that there is a long *series of provocations*; and that the late war was, in fact, but a retaliatory

tive act, or an attempt to regain rights which we had most unrighteously disregarded.*

Nor does it materially affect this conclusion to say that the English colonists, upon whom the blow has fallen so distressingly, had given no just cause for such an attack. To maintain, on such grounds, as some have done, that the invasion was therefore perfectly unprovoked, argues a very unfair and contracted view of the whole case. It does not indeed appear to have been quite consonant with the purpose of certain witnesses, before the "Aborigines Committee," to draw any line of distinction between them and the Dutch boors who form the other, and principal portion of the frontier colonists; and against whom, the Kaffer has unquestionably *a long account of grievances*. But the two classes must ever be regarded as standing on very different grounds, the latter being not less *notoriously* than unhappily influenced by prejudice, and the predilections of caste, with which the former are by no means chargeable. As a

* In a letter written from Cape Town, Jan. 20th., 1835, to the Hon. Capt. Stockenstrom, by Capt. Alexander, a gentleman sent out by the Geographical Society, and at that time on the governor's staff, it is stated, "the cause of the irruption of the Kaffers is simply this: the old commando system; thieves and bad characters among them plundered the settlers; occasionally the commandoes proceeded to the nearest Kraal. [innocent, of course, for the guilty were far in the interior,] and took from it cattle equal in number to those stolen. Human nature could not stand this."

In another letter to the same gentleman, dated March 10th., 1835, the same officer remarks, "There is a great outcry here against the Missionaries; the blame is laid on them for having occasioned the present war, I think they have had very little to do with it; we must go back to 1811, when the Kaffers were driven by the commandoes from their purchased territory,—from the Sundys to the Great Fish River;—an extraordinary treaty made with Gaika, in 1817, who was improperly considered as the head of the Kaffers on this side of the Buffaloe River; the fine pasture between the Fish and Keiskamma, at one time allowed to be occupied by the herds of the Kaffers, and then the huts burnt off the land. Macomo has been served in this way three or four times."—*Min. Evid.* p. 149.

body,—always excepting unprincipled individuals of course, who are less or more to be found in every community,—the English settlers have undoubtedly been a great blessing to the native tribes, both temporally and spiritually. Their feeling, as far as I have seen it evinced towards the coloured classes, has generally been both kind and benevolent; which renders the fact of their having suffered so severely during the late war the more distressing, and indeed altogether inexplicable, excepting by reference to the system all along pursued towards the Kaffers by our government. This circumstance, therefore, coupled with that of their having originally been placed in that situation by government, certainly entitles them to all possible relief.

II. As NEIGHBOURS the Kaffers have been most unkindly treated.

Although a narrow ridge of hills or a river only, formed the line of separation between them and the colonists, until within the last few years they were absolutely outlawed. The law of non-intercourse, less or more rigidly kept up from 1798, to 1823, was undoubtedly a prolific source of evil, and constant provocation. The state in which we first found those tribes, being strikingly analogous to that of the man in the Gospel, who had “fallen amongst thieves,” rendered them objects of christian sympathy and commiseration; and divine providence undoubtedly laid them at our doors to be “healed,” *not to be slain*. From time immemorial, as every body knows, they had been the objects of lawless attack from the old colonists; who, as stated in evidence, “placed themselves upon their lands, and gradually overspread their country,” plundering, and even shooting them if at all obstructive of their course. Nor did these horrid barbarities receive any very serious check for some time after the establishment of our government in the country, as appears but too plainly from Earl Macartney’s Proclamation of July 14th, 1798.

A system of non-intercourse was then established between the natives, and the colonists, the Great Fish River being proclaimed as the boundary, and Gaika rendered exclusively responsible for its maintenance on the Kaffer side. With this chief alone, the governor appears to have treated, *peremptorily* requiring that "none of the Kaffers should have any intercourse with the colonists." This *treaty*, however, left the Amagonaquabie under the old chief Kongo, then at variance with Gaika, in possession of that section of the country which we now call Albany, westward of the boundary above mentioned.

In this unneighbourly position we stood as already intimated until 1823; during which period the law rendered it death for any one to cross the Kaffer boundary.* And here the flagrantly partial administration of the law demands a moment's attention.

It is a fact that defies refutation, and of which there is doubtless lamentable and abundant proof in the colonial office, *that* between the year 1798 and 1823, vast numbers of Kaffers were shot by patrols, and otherwise, because found on the right bank of the Fish River: *but*, to this day, I never heard of a colonist suffering any such punishment for trespassing on their side of that river, although it is well known that many have all along been equally guilty in this respect; and that, in fact the latter have generally been the first to break through every *treaty* respecting *boundaries*. When it is recollectcd that the colonist had a much better opportunity for understanding the provisions, and requisitions of that law, than the Native could *possibly* have, it being published in his own language [Dutch] always under his eye, *proclaimed* throughout the

* It would appear indeed that the present Governor is wishful still to keep up the spirit of this law. Hence, when treating with certain friendly clans, at the close of the late war,—clans who had actually thrown their force on to the colonial side, during the war, and who were

colony, but *never* in *Caffraria*;—THAT the former moreover, was frequently setting him the example of transgression, and that in some instances, as appears from the *evidence* of Capt. B. he was actually *allured* on to the colonial side, and there shot while bartering with his tempters;* I respectfully submit, that if either party was deserving of severity, it was the white, not the black.

Nothing but the most rancorous feelings could reasonably be expected to result from such a state of things, on both sides the frontier, inducing each party to eye the other, not only with suspicion, but with envious malignity. Such indeed was the hostile spirit, then in existence, that the white manifestly deemed it no crime to shoot the black; and the black consequently scrupled not to plunder, nor even to murder the white. Such being the case, the boors were ever alert, and ready to lay hold of anything, and everything, at all likely to turn the full tide of prejudice upon *their swarthy neighbours*. And in this they were but too successful; for the Kaffers were at length proclaimed by one governor after another, “unrelenting disturbers of the peace, and prosperity of the colony;”—and “*perpetual enemies*;” —and finally, quite “*irreclaimable*.” So that in 1811, the

now desirous of placing themselves under our Government—after proclaiming them “British subjects,” and honouring their chiefs with the *title* of “Magistrates of the colony, each in his own location,” he nevertheless enacts that “none of these,”—no not even of these *Magistrates*, “can be allowed to pass to the right bank of the Fish River, without a border pass, signed by one of the Commissioners; * * * and even then, they must be unarmed; a departure from this condition will expose the individuals so infringing it to the danger of being SHOT, and therefore its exact observance is especially enjoined.

“ Given under my hand and seal at Graham’s Town, this 6th.
day of Sept. 1835.

“ (Signed) B. D’URBAN,
“ Governor and Commander in-Chief of the Colony of the
Cape of Good Hope.”

* Min. Evil p 143.

colonial government determined on forcing them all over the Fish River, not excepting even the Amagonaquabi themselves; who were therefore bereft of lands, which they considered their own, and which they had occupied the greater part of a century; but from which, they were now driven at the point of the bayonet, leaving behind them their aged chief, *wantonly murdered by a party of boors*, and the whole of the Zuurveldt cleared, as with "the besom of destruction."

The *manner, and spirit*, in which this business was performed, will perhaps best appear from the following statement of Robert Hart, Esq. who was then a lieutenant in the Cape Regiment; who has since sustained offices of very great responsibility under the Cape government; and whose veracity, I will venture to assert, being intimately acquainted with him, is altogether undoubted by all who know him.

On "Sunday," says that Gentleman—"January 12th. 1812. About noon, Commandant Stoltz went out with two companies to look for Slambi [Islambi] but saw nothing of him; they met only with a few Kaffers, men and women, the most of whom they shot. About sun-set five Kaffers were seen at a distance, one of whom came to the camp with a message from Slambi's son, requesting permission to remain until the harvest was over; and that then he [if his father would not] would go over the great Fish River quietly. This messenger would not give any information respecting Slambi, but said he did not know where he was. However, after having been put in irons, and fastened to a wheel with a riem [leather thong] about his neck, he said that if the commando went with him before daylight, he would bring them upon two hundred Kaffers, all asleep."

Capt. Fraser, commanding a party of "303 boors, 27 free Hottentots, 4 subalterns, 5 sergeants, 6 buglers, and 120 Rank and file of the Cape regiment," was sent out, it seems, with this Kaffer envoy at two o'clock the next morning, in pursuit of *Slambi*; but after three days search, they returned without success, bringing back with them the Kaffer captive, of whose fate we find no further notice. From the journal kept by Mr. Hart, during the campaign in question,

it further appears, that "parties of troops were employed for several weeks, in burning down the huts, and hamlets of the natives; in destroying their fields of maize, and millet, just ripening, by trampling them down with large herds of cattle.—TWENTY THOUSAND souls were, at length forced across the river above mentioned, leaving behind them a large portion of their cattle, captured by the troops; many of their old comrades, wives and children shot in the thickets, and not a few of the old, and diseased whom they were unable to carry along with them to perish of hunger or be devoured of wolves."*

"The most heart-rending scenes," says D. Moodie, Esq. in a letter to the Commissioners of Inquiry, "occurred upon this expulsion, and the simple but emphatic argument of these half-reclaimed savages, just about to be re-plunged into barbarism, and turned into our bitterest and most dangerous enemies, may at once show us something of their native state, and yield us an instructive lesson for the future. The old men said, 'We have been with you fifteen or twenty years; we are your friends; we have watched your cattle; when they were taken away by our countrymen, we have followed them, reclaimed them from the captors, and brought them back; our wives have cultivated your gardens; our children and yours speak the same language, and have played together from their infancy; we are afraid of our countrymen, who will consider us as enemies for having forgotten their language; if the captains receive us, it is only to wait until we have a number of cattle, when they will kill us, and take them to themselves. The young men prayed at least to remain until they could earn cattle enough to purchase them wives. All asked where they could now procure their tobacco, their vion, their beads, and a bit of bread.'

"These are not fictitious pleas, put into their mouths for effect, they are literal translations of their own expressions, which have been a hundred times repeated to me. I will venture to relate a single instance.—In 1812, when the commando was sweeping the country, a boor, of the name of De Witt, told his Kaffer servant, 'I have an order from the field-cornet to send you to your own country.' 'To my own country? this is my country! I have been fourteen years in your service; you are my father; your wife is my mother; I have never been in Cafferland, except to bring back your cattle; I will have no other country!' The order was repeated

* African Sketches, p. 423.

by the Field Cornet himself, without effect. ‘No! drive me among the Kaffers. You may shoot me upon the spot, for I will not leave it.’ The Field Cornet laid aside his gun, and taking his sambok [a leathern whip] beat the poor wretch until he went off into the woods, whence his master heard him ‘howling,’ as he expressed it, for the remainder of the day. For some time, in defiance of the barbarian order, which subjected him to death, he returned to his master every night to beg a little food; but finding no chance of any relaxation of his sentence, he adopted the last advice of his master to return to his former country, ‘and never cross the Fish River while an Englishman was in the land.’” *

In the following address to Col. Willshire and Capt. Stockenstrom, at the close of the war in 1819, we have the Kaffer pleading his own cause in a way that would do honour to a much higher order of men.

“After a few questions and answers,” says Capt. S. “relative to the disposal of Makanna [a chief whom our troops had taken captive] and as to the prospects of an accommodation, the friend of the captive chief delivered himself in the following terms—in so manly a manner, with so graceful an attitude, and with so much feeling and animation, that the bald translation which I am able to furnish from my hasty and imperfect notes, can afford but a very faint and inadequate idea of his eloquence.”

“The war,” said he, “British chiefs, is an unjust one; for you are striving to extirpate a people whom you forced to take up arms. When our fathers, and the fathers of the Amabulu [boors] first settled in the Zureveldt, they dwelt together in peace. Their flocks grazed upon the same hills; their herdsmen smoked together out of the same pipes; they were brothers, until the herds of the Amakosa increased so as to make the hearts of the boors sore. What those covetous men could not get from our fathers for old buttons, they took by force. Our fathers were *men*; they loved their cattle; their wives and children lived upon milk; they fought for their property. They began to hate the colonists, who coveted their all, and aimed at their destruction.

“Now, their kraals and our fathers’ kraals were separate; the boors made commandoes on our fathers. Our fathers drove them out of the Zureveldt; and we dwelt there, because we had conquered it. There we were circumcised; there we married wives; and there our children were born. The white men hated us, but could not drive us away. When there was war we plundered you. When there was peace, some of our bad people stole; but our chiefs forbade it. Your treacherous friend

* Par. Papers, 1835, part i. p. 176.

Gaika always had peace with you; yet, when his people stole, he shared in the plunder. Have your patroles ever found cattle taken in time of peace, runaway slaves, or deserters, in the kraals of our chiefs? Have they ever gone into Gaika's country without finding such cattle, such slaves, such deserters, in Gaika's kraals?

"But he was your friend; and you wished to possess the Zureveldt. You came at last like locusts, (alluding to Col. Graham's Campaign in 1811, 1812.) We stood; we could do no more. You said, 'Go over the Fish River, that is all we want.' We yielded, and came here. We lived in peace. Some bad people stole perhaps; but the nation was quiet—the chiefs were quiet. Gaika stole, his chiefs stole, his people stole. You sent him copper, you sent him beads, you sent him horses, on which he rode to steal more. To us you sent only commandoes.

"We quarrelled with Gaika about grass—no business of yours;—you sent a commando (Col Brereton's expedition in 1818); you took our last cow, you left only a few calves, which died for want, along with our children. You gave half the spoil to Gaika, half you kept yourselves. Without milk,—our corn destroyed,—we saw our wives and children perish,—we saw that we must ourselves perish; we followed, therefore, the tracks of our cattle into the colony. We plundered, and we fought for our lives.—We found you weak; we destroyed your soldiers.—We saw that we were strong; we attacked your head-quarters (Graham's Town.) And if we had succeeded, our right was good, for you began the war—we failed, and you are here.

"We wish for peace; we wish to rest in our huts; we wish to get milk for our children; our wives wish to till the land. But your troops cover the plains, and swarm in the thickets, where they cannot distinguish the man from the woman, and shoot all.*

"You want us to submit to Gaika. That man's face is fair to you, but his heart is false. Leave him to himself. Make peace with us. Let him fight for himself, and we shall not call on you for help. Set Makan-na at liberty; and Islambi, Dushani, Kongo, and the rest will come to make peace with you at any time you fix. But if you will still make war, you may indeed kill the last man of us,—but Gaika shall not rule over the followers of those who think him a woman."

As this war did not terminate in 1812, but continued less or more for three or four years afterwards, its cost was as ruinous as its effects were deplorable. Hundreds of lives were lost on both sides, and the entire expense to England, as appears from the Army Estimates, was little, if any, short

* Thompson's Travels, vol. ii. p. 347.

of half a million sterling. It unquestionably brought on moreover, a succession of wars which were not at all less expensive, and which were, in some instances at least, far more sanguinary.* Thousands of valuable labourers were thereby driven out of the colony, which was in absolute want of them;† whilst the great work of civilization was not only rendered less practicable, but put almost wholly out of the question. And with that, of course, the commercial prospects of the interior.‡ We shall next therefore proceed more particularly to show,

III. That the Kaffers, as a NATION, have been very seriously injured.

That any one should for a moment stand questioning the fact, as some have done before "the Aborigines Committee," of our having in 1819, aggrieved, and inflicted upon this people a great NATIONAL *injury* by taking from them about a million of acres of their finest pasture land, "without money and without price," is really passing strange. Such a measure, bearing upon a people whose habits are wholly pastoral, and whose *numbers*, from the comparative cessation of war, have been gradually increasing, could not but prove a source of incalculable suffering. Crowded together in a tract of country, that has annually been getting too strait for them, they have entreated, yea begged, and all but come down to their knees for the restoration of those lands. Gaika himself, with whom Lord Charles Somerset is *said* to have treated originally, is found, according to the testimony of a British officer who has given evidence before the above mentioned Committee, "almost immediately after the said treaty was made, earnestly praying that he might be allowed at least, to pasture his herds upon a portion of the neutral ground," on which he, and his captains were bred, pleading that his cattle were starving for want of food.§

* Par. Papers, p. 196. † Ibid. 1835, part 1, pp. 30 and 174.

‡ Ibid. pp. 199 and 200. § Min. Evid. p. 146.

A deaf ear being turned to their supplications from year to year, with some trifling exceptions, their stock, as well as numbers increasing,—and being all along impressed with the idea that the said lands were taken from them most unfairly, Gaika himself, according to his own acknowledgment having no right whatever to alienate a single inch of their territory, heart-burnings have increased, until they have at length been unhappily induced to make a desperate attempt by force, to regain the rights we had trampled upon. Their most determined opponents are constrained to admit, that this was their grand object in the recent war. Hence Sir B. D'Urban states it as his belief that *acquisition of territory* was what they were aiming at;* Major D. likewise is constrained to acknowledge the "fact, that they are a greatly increasing nation. From a small and insignificant horde," adds that gentleman, "in the course of one hundred and forty years they have become extremely numerous. I think really that one of the principal causes of their present aggressions, is to find more land to feed their cattle upon."† This witness, indeed, seems to think that the frontier tribes might very well find a place of habitation in the tract of country between the Amaponedæ and Port Natal, throughout which desolation was spread by the forces of Chaka in 1828: but it must be remembered that although Chaka himself be dead, his spirit still lives in those he has left behind, so that if placed there, our neighbours would, in all probability, very soon be compelled to destroy, or again submit to *extermination*.

The expulsion of Macomo also, from the *Kat River* in 1829, was another circumstance which could not but provoke, and exasperate the *frontier tribes*.

It is well known that this chief is a son of the late Gaika;—that his clan had long suffered under the treaty said to have been made with his father; and that he was a

* Par. Papers on Kaffer War, p. 62. † Min. Evid. Q. 1200.

principal leader in the late war. Although he and his people were the immediate sufferers by the latter measure, the whole of the surrounding tribes felt it, even to Hinza himself; all very naturally concluding that they also might one day or other, be similarly served. But *now* forsooth, because they did not instanter resent that act, but seemed patiently to bear it, as well as the growingly oppressive one of 1819, up to the end of 1834, we are very positively told that the war was *unprovoked*; and that the natives "have all along been the aggressors." The whole of those grounds were traversed by the author shortly after this chief and his clans were driven from them; and the scene altogether was indescribably impressive. Upon the face of an extensive, and beautifully picturesque landscape, marks of the horrid ravages of war every where presented themselves, in demolished cattle-folds, and heaps of ashes, to which all the dwellings of the natives had been reduced by our troops.

In November, 1833, they were again disturbed, and driven out of their huts and place of habitation, when their crops were springing, and their fields beginning to promise a harvest. The tract into which they were forced is thus described, even by the officer charged with the execution of this measure, who himself knew not why or wherefore they were thus treated. "They were driven," says he, "out of a country that was both better for water and grass, than the one they were removed to, which was already thickly inhabited. They took me over the country they were to inhabit, and I assure you there was not a morsel of grass upon it more than there is in this room; it was as bare as a parade."* Some two or three months afterwards they were allowed to return, and in about as many weeks again driven out; yes, and before the end of 1834, they

* Min. Evid. p. 7.

were informed that they might re-settle, which they had hardly begun to do before our soldiers were sent to burn them completely out. The scene which then took place is thus described by Col. W. himself, who appears to have been an eye witness. "At this time," says he, "Oct. 21. 1834, they had been returned about a month, had built their huts, established their cattle kraals, and commenced the cultivation of their gardens." Having crossed the Keiskamma, and the Omkobina, in company with Colonel Somerset, "the valleys," adds this gentleman, "were swarming with Kaffers, as was the whole country in our front as far as the Gaga; the people were all in motion carrying off their effects, and driving away their cattle towards the drift of the river; and to my utter amazement the whole country around, and before us, was in a blaze. Presently we came up with a strong patrol of the mounted rifle corps, which had, it appeared, come out of Fort Beaufort that morning; the soldiers were busily employed in burning the huts, and driving the Kaffers towards the frontier."*

The recent account of settlers' houses being burnt down in Albany by the Kaffers, is truly distressing; but are the latter, because Kaffers, to be treated as if destitute of all feeling, when not only compelled to witness the destruction of their property, but even driven into the desert, and that at the point of the bayonet, to seek a place of habitation wherever they can find one? As far as we have been concerned in every act of this kind, the tribes have been left to live, or to die; to settle amongst friends, or to perish amongst foes. To secure a dwelling place, even for their wives or little ones, has formed no part of our business; our only care has been completely to *root them out* of the one they had, leaving them to fend for themselves afterwards.

* Min. Evid. p. 344.

The extent of misery resulting from such a system can be known only to that Being whose eyes run to and fro in the earth, beholding the *evil and the good*.

So far from respecting the feelings of our sable neighbours, we have absolutely outraged them.

The motives which induced Sir Lowry Cole to settle different parties of Hottentots upon the lands previously occupied by Macomo, were beyond all question highly laudable; but the measure itself was one which could not but tend to promote a revengeful spirit in the mind of the latter. It is too notorious to require particular proof here, that there are strong national prejudices existing in the mind of the Kaffer against the Hottentot; that, in fact, he looks upon him as an inferior, and that in no small degree. And although this sort of feeling is now happily wearing away, his lands being given to a section of that tribe, and they too armed by government against him, was certainly calculated to exasperate, rather than to conciliate; whilst the poor Hottentot himself was hereby placed between two fires,—the prejudiced boor on the one hand, and the enraged *Kaffer on the other*. Looking at all the circumstances of the case,—at its exposed situation, and at the difficulties with which its inhabitants have actually had to contend, it is even more than surprising that the Kat River settlement has prospered at all.

But this is not the only way in which we have evinced a sad want of regard for the *national feeling of the Kaffers*. The insulting treatment which they sometimes experience from our soldiery, is quite sufficient to turn the very best of them into enemies. Striking evidence of this has been adduced before the “Aborigines Committee,” by Capt. Bradford, of the *East India Company’s Service*. This gentleman deposes,* “that he himself saw two Kaffers,

* Min. Evid. p. 163.

with thongs about their necks, led between two Hottentot troopers on horseback, from Beaufort to Graham's Town, about fifty miles, not because guilty of any misdemeanour, but that they might there prefer their complaint against a farmer, who had entered Kafferland and taken away their cattle." And again, that "several of Botman's people were beaten on the head and shoulders with sticks," by the men belonging to one of the patrols in Oct., 1834. Whilst Capt. Stockenstrom also declares, "that after shooting one of Charlie's men, the soldiers bound down another over an ant heap, and beat him most severely."* Now it must be observed that this kind of punishment is, by the Kaffer, universally accounted most degrading. In all my perigrinations amongst them, I never yet saw one native *fist*, or strike another even with a stick. When the dispute cannot be otherwise settled, they proceed at once to the use of the spear; but they will often reason about the matter, most vociferously, for hours, and sometimes for days, before they so much as think of duelling. A quarrel one day took place in our garden at Mount Coke, between two boys, twelve or fourteen years of age; the one struck the other with a small twig, which was no sooner reported to the chief, than a fine of one young beast was levied upon the father of the delinquent.

Thus has insult been added to injury; whence we shall take occasion to show that,

IV. Their CHIEFS have been systematically maltreated.

"I consider," says a writer in the Graham's Town Journal, "the disrespect shown to the chiefs very detrimental to the interests of the colony. The first step to improve the Kaffers is to improve their chiefs: this must be done not by the sword, but by honest and good treatment. Treat them with some degree of deference; treat them as men."†

* Min. Evid. p. 115. † African Sketches, p. 469.

A writer, in another of the colonial papers, who signs himself "A Trader," observes, "I don't wish to lay all the blame on the authori-

If *justly* and *properly* treated, there can be little doubt that the greater part, if not the whole, would exert themselves to the uttermost in our behalf. Only make it their interest to promote ours, and let them feel that we regard them as *men*, and as *men in authority*, and little fear need be entertained as to the result. The actual conduct, indeed, of several has, for years past, been such as fully to sustain this view; which renders the evidence of the late acting governor, on this point, the more surprising. That gentleman tells the committee that he has no confidence in them whatever;* but in passing judgment upon them, I trust the *kind* of "*opportunities*" Col. W. had of acquainting himself with those men will be steadily borne in mind. "Personal knowledge of the Kaffer chiefs," says he, "I have had none, except for *a moment* on the frontier; but, from the whole of the knowledge I have derived from carrying on the *military correspondence*, for between four and five years, with regard to the Kaffers, I certainly would not place reliance upon any one chief among them." From hence, therefore, it would appear that the whole of Col. W.'s knowledge of this people, whom he never saw, save "once, for a moment, on the frontier," and whose dwellings were at least seven hundred miles from his place of residence, —was collected in the course of little more than four years;

ties; it is the *system* which is decidedly wrong. Governor after governor comes up [to the frontiers] and gallops about; but their whole thoughts are military; they are looking out for the best place for a *military station*, instead of thinking of *conciliation*. They have been so accustomed to command, that they expect implicit obedience even from those independent chiefs, who may have twenty thousand subjects devoted to them from their birth, and who would sacrifice their lives to support them. Menaces are held out to those chiefs, that they must act as they are ordered; and if they do not, they are threatened with a commando. * * * There is a certain haughty manner universally displayed towards the Kaffers, which may force them to break out one time or other I pray that the time may not be nearer than we expect."—*S. African Advertiser*, Nov. 30, 1830.

* Min. Evid. p. 380.

and that from “*correspondence*” about “*military*” affairs, and with military men ; who, if not in the habit of *regarding* the Kaffer nation as an enemy, were certainly in the habit of *professionally* treating them as such. This simple fact, grounded on his own admission, in a great measure accounts for this gentleman’s astounding conclusions recorded at p. 374. of *Min. Evid.* ;—“that after Sir Lowry Cole’s visit to the frontier, in Sept., 1829, the Kaffers were *perfectly contented*;”—“that they had *forgotten* whatever they might have supposed were former injuries,”*—and *that* two thousand square miles of their finest pasture land could be taken from them in 1819, without constituting any *grievance whatever*.† Had Colonel W. been *really* and *properly* acquainted with the condition of that people, I cannot see how he could *possibly* have arrived at any *such conclusions*; nor can I do otherwise than regard his evidence respecting the *disposition* of the chiefs as being almost as *erroneous* as that about the circumstances of their people.

Of all the frontier chiefs, no one has ever been deemed more hostile to the colony than old *Sthambi* ; and *he* does not appear, as far as I know, to have taken any step against it, until the colonial government began to *interfere* with their *internal affairs*. In 1786, we find the frontier colonists calling in the aid of this chief against the Amagona-quabi, and, as a reward for his services, *loading* him with the spoils of that tribe ;‡ but in the course of a few years afterwards, the colonial forces are called up against both him and them ; and he is *particularly pointed* out as an object of public vengeance. Again, in 1817, whilst Gaika, his nephew and determined enemy, is flattered and made the object of signal favours, *positive orders* are issued for the seizure even of *Sthambi’s person* ;§ and because *he*, in

* *Min. Evid. Q. 3503.* † *Ibid. Q. 3515.*

‡ *Par. Papers, 1835, part i. p. 41.* § *Min. Evid. p. 395.*

concert with all the other border chieftains—Hinza, Jalusha, Habana, Makanna, and Kongo,—in the course of the year following, thought proper to resent the growing tyranny, and insulting conduct of Gaika, who had forcibly carried off the wife of one of the old man's counsellors, a powerful force, both of troops and colonists, was sent out against him, which swept away twenty-three thousand head of their cattle; and which unquestionably brought down the Kaffer army upon the colony in 1819. With a perfect recollection, however, of all these things, the old man in 1825 *joyfully hailed* our proposal to establish a mission in his country, *in the hope*, confessedly, that my residence amongst his people might be the means of promoting peace, and of putting down the spirit of depredation. Hence, amongst the various reasons assigned for his preference of the site of Mount Coke, the following are two or three of the principal: viz.,

1. Because it was most out of the way of neighbouring clans, whom he charged with being litigious, and much addicted to plundering incursions upon the colonists. He therefore feared being too near them, as his people in that case, might become chargeable with their depredations.

2. Because it was as *near* the colony as he deemed it prudent to advance with his people; being anxious to keep them out of the way of temptation; “for,” said he, “they will do mischief if they have the opportunity, notwithstanding all I can do.”

3. The place on which we first proposed to commence the station [Koogwala,] was at *once* and *positively* objected to by him; “*because*,” said he, “*there* it was *your soldiers* and *the boors* attacked me [in 1817,] to please that fellow Gaika: *never*, therefore, will *Slhambi* set his foot *upon that spot again*.”

Shortly after my commencement of the station, one of the old chief's counsellors was sent to inform me [Oct. 19th., 1825,] that Slhambi had issued strict orders to all his

captains, requiring each to exert himself to the uttermost for the maintenance of peace in their borders;—that the said orders were to be made known throughout the tribe; and that a breach thereof would be followed up with the utmost rigour of Kaffer law. The following were then stated as the penalties to be inflicted, viz.,—1. “In the event of any one being convicted of stealing cattle from the colony, the offender shall be hanged on the nearest tree. 2. *In case* of any depredation being committed upon the property of the Umzi ka Tixo [God’s dwelling place,] the *thief shall be ground to dust.*” And on hearing that my study had been broken open, and various articles taken away, one night in August, 1826, the rage of the old man put the whole tribe in fear, as he called upon his council and warriors to adopt measures of a most sanguinary character; insomuch, that had we not happily been in the way, blood would undoubtedly have been shed.

Nor was this disposition evinced by the old chief only; Dushani, his son and successor, a native of no ordinary mind, and one of the chief captains of the Kaffer forces which attacked Graham’s Town in 1819,—was *equally*, if not more anxious than his father to promote the peace of the frontiers generally. He laboured in various ways to meet our wishes in this respect; and, as will fully appear on reference to the parliamentary papers, published in 1835, [part II. p. 154.] manifested a willingness, far beyond what might have been expected, to put the best possible construction upon the proceedings of patrols and commandos sent from time to time against neighbouring clans, although his own people were thereby *occasionally* and very *injuriously* disturbed.* Straggling natives, from other parts of the

* When the paper, above alluded to, was penned, the writer was far from being acquainted with all the particulars of that revolting affair—with the extent of force sent out—with the circumstance of Botman’s hamlet having been attacked instead of Neuka’s, the one aimed at—

country, were very rarely able to get through his domain without being stopped to show *cause why*, and *whither* they were journeying. Knowing his feeling on this point, some of his warriors one day arrested and disarmed a party of *Jonga's* men, not far from Mount Coke, *because on their way* towards the colony, and unable to give a satisfactory account of their object. The wanderers stated, that they were merely going to the *clay pits*,—a place just within the old boundary on the right bank of the Fish River, to get a supply of red ochre, with which the Kaffers are accustomed to paint themselves; but, fearing that this was only a pretext, set up as the covering of mischievous purposes, our neighbours would not allow them to proceed. Finding, on another occasion, about Dec. 1825, that a number of colonial horses had been driven into a corner of his territories, Dushani immediately commenced a diligent search, and at length discovered the thieves, whom he *disarmed* and *fined*. Being about to visit the colony myself, early in the following month, and thinking that the appearance of this chief, in Graham's Town, might be at once interesting and *advantageous* in various points of view, I proposed, and obtained leave for him to accompany me. Never having seen that place since engaged in the attack upon it, at the time above-mentioned, he at first seemed somewhat hesitant about ven-

or with the fact of a number of innocent families having been fired upon "by mistake," (Par. papers, 1835, p. 153) whilst peacefully slumbering in their huts, as unconscious of danger as of guilt. Knowing well the confusion into which all had been thrown, (see p. 41.) it was matter of surprise with us all, that the Chiefs should put so favourable a construction upon the business; but not knowing the extent of operation, we hesitated to venture an opinion, or indeed to say any thing beyond simply answering the question put to us, never for a moment dreaming that so trifling a document would ever have been invested with parliamentary importance. The drowning man is far gone when he catches at straws; and so likewise must the system be, which thus eagerly grasps at every little feather that can, by any means, be *attached to its wing*.

turing; but, on pledging myself to his safety, as also to that of his attendants, his apprehensions were fully overcome; and he proceeded with all possible cheerfulness, taking with him the stolen horses, and likewise the *fine* he had levied upon the delinquents; all which were delivered to the commandant, who *received him* with the *greatest kindness*.

Upon the strength, therefore, of these and many similar facts, I am constrained to conclude, that, if *properly treated*, the "*Kaffer chiefs*," would, after all, prove our friends: but what can we expect from a system, *which now* sets up one above all the rest,—paying no respect whatever to the legitimate authority of each; and, *anon*, takes the matter wholly into our own hands, acting independently of any of them, [Macomo's case to wit.] *which* tramples upon their territorial rights, whenever the governor may deem a new boundary requisite;—and, like the elephant in their gardens, absolutely desolates their country, heedless of consequences, so that we accomplish our purposes. Nay, more terrible still, *which* places their *very persons* at the mercy of a few common soldiers, as in the case of Macomo at the Kat River in 1833; *or*, of a young lad like Lieut. Sparkes, who fired upon, and wounded the brother of that chief in the head, the year following, [Min. Evid. p. 556;] *or*, of a party of Dutch boors, like those which shot Zeko in 1830, [p. 381;] *or*, indeed, of a person like Southey, who, with *such precedents* before him, hesitates not to shoot *even* the king himself! Things of this kind are not soon forgotten by the Kaffers, as their *memories* are *very far* from being so *treacherous*, as some would have us believe, especially in all matters affecting their chiefs. And indeed how is it possible? Supposing the case our own; and a French or Spanish officer had acted a similar part towards our late beloved Monarch, rudely dragging him from his horse and dashing him upon the ground;—furiously throwing a pair of pistols at his head when they would not go off; then

hunting him down, as if a beast of prey ; and, after wounding him in *the leg*, and shooting him *through the back*, deliberately blowing out his brains because forsooth he still appeared to be holding up *a lance in his hand !!* The man who perpetrates this deed, then takes his spears and girdle, as “*spolia opima*,” *and is presented with the king's horse*; upon which, the bugle sounds “*the assembly and march* ;” and the body, stripped of all its ornaments, is left lying exposed upon *the banks of the river.** If such a system be not sufficient to drive a nation to desperation, pray what is ?

Of the last mentioned chief I had heard much during the time of my residence in the colony ; and, of course, still more after settling at Mount Coke, this place being within seventy or eighty miles of the king's residence. My first interview with Hinza, however, did not occur until Dec., 1826, when we went to treat with him respecting the introduction of Christianity into his own immediate neighbourhood. Up to this period he seems to have had comparatively little intercourse with the colonists ; and as far as I know, does not appear, at any time, to have evinced any very strong wish to be brought into close contact with the colony. The neglect with which he had all along been treated,—the late Gaika having not only been most inconsistently recognized as *his superior*, but *assisted* in driving him back to where we found him,—induced him very naturally to look upon us with *considerable suspicion*. Hence, I believe he never could be prevailed upon to visit any part of the colony, although anxious to see Graham's Town, and aware that most of the neighbouring chieftains had visited that place.

In the beginning of 1830, I was appointed to the Butterworth station, which was but a short walk from Hinza's residence. Here, therefore, we had frequent opportunities

* Alexander's Voyage to Africa.

for observing the man in public, and in private; in his own hamlet, and at the mission village; at church, and in my own house. He sometimes indeed conducted himself with a sort of stately reserve; but at others, was as open and communicative as one could wish. Here, however, I must again beg leave to observe, that he was a heathen, subject to the numerous vices of heathenism, as it exists in Caf-fraria;—exceedingly superstitious, and withal despotic, as are the African chiefs in general. This remark is the more necessary, as it is almost impossible to oppose the hue and cry now raised against the Kaffer tribes as a “wolfish,” and “blood-thirsty” race, without being thrown by our opponents upon the other extreme, and subjected to the charge of a “sickly philanthropy,” or of representing them as the “harmless,” “inoffensive,” or “innocent” children of nature. In all this there is doubtless a design; at which the true philanthropist may well afford to smile.

Now on referring to the parliamentary papers concerning the Kaffer war, I find much stress laid upon Hinza’s delay and hesitancy, when called to meet his Excellency Sir B. D’Urban; and because he subsequently thought proper to make a grand effort to secure his liberty, the Hon. Col. Smith thinks himself fully justified in denouncing him as “worthy of the nation of atrocious, and indomitable savages, over whom he was the acknowledged chieftain.”*

But to say nothing of the formidableness of facing our army, which had forced its way on to his own grounds;—nor yet of his comparative timidity, being naturally far from a bold or courageous man; the *want* of *confidence*, induced by our own measures, as touching his subjects on the immediate frontiers, for years past, *coupled* with the reports he was doubtless hourly receiving respecting the desolating ravages of the commando, between the Keiskam-

* Par. Papers on Kaffer War, p. 49.

ma River and the *Kae*, sufficiently account for his hesitancy in obeying the call of his Excellency.

But independently of these considerations he had been taught by certain Dutch boors [whose names can be produced, should this be necessary,] to believe that the English would one day or other most assuredly seize him ; and that the missionaries themselves only came into his country as the tools of government to set the trap. This kind of suggestion was, moreover, not a little strengthened by the fact well known to *Hinza* that Lord Chas. Somerset gave instructions for the arrest of the chief Slhambi, in 1817 ;—*that* Makanna, or Lynx, another chief of extraordinary influence amongst the Kaffers, was actually seized and carried off to the Cape by our troops in 1819, whence he never returned ;—and *that* an attempt was made by a British officer, three or four years afterwards, to kidnap even Gaika himself, which circumstance took place *at a missionary institution*, then the residence of the government agent. With such facts deeply rooted in his memory, was it at all surprising that he should be tardy in rendering obedience to a requisition, which insisted upon his personal appearance in the camp ? Had his Excellency been better acquainted with the history and exact situation of this chief, we cannot but think that his line of procedure would have been very different. Looking *at all* the facts connected with his death, it is greatly to be lamented that the evil spirits, by whom we are there surrounded, and who will not be backward in making use of them on any future occasion, should hereby have their hands so fully *strengthened*.

Had the late war been quite unprovoked, and had it been even the work of *Hinza* himself, his unhappy fate could not but excite the deepest regret in every well constituted mind. But how must that regret be increased, when it is recollected that the invasion really originated in our treatment of his people, and that according to testimony,

the most direct, he was not even a party to the hostilities for which he suffered such indignity and cruelty. On the contrary, it is in evidence that after the war broke out he sent to the frontier chiefs, positively urging them to abstain from hostilities.* I never to this day heard that he was ever convicted of anything like actual, or hostile engagement against the colony, nor have we ever professed to regard him in any other light than as our friend.

As such, the writer was requested in April 1830, to convey to him and to certain of his people, a number of presents from the colonial authorities, in consideration of their interposition, and assistance afforded to the shipwrecked crew of the *Eole*, a short time previously. And again in July, the same year, when Zeko was murdered, and Magoogoo, another chief, taken prisoner, I was desired by Capt. Stockenstrom, the commissioner general, to communicate the most friendly assurances to *Hinza*, informing him that he had nothing to fear from the commando, then in the country. The commando, as might be expected, produced however no small degree of excitement; for the moment, in fact, it placed us all in considerable danger. The communication, just alluded to, had the desired effect of allaying the king's fears, but not of removing his suspicions; and until the *practice* of our government is more fully and truly consonant with our promises and professions, not only will the native chiefs themselves have too much cause for such surmises, but the lives of British missionaries also cannot but be placed occasionally, at least, in the utmost jeopardy.

That a man, circumstanced as Hinza was, should endeavour to effect his escape, is certainly not very surprising; nor would it satisfactorily prove, excepting indeed to the Hon. Col. S., who had, of course, to get up some account of his death,—any extraordinary degree of treachery or savagery, beyond that of which human nature is universally capable. He was manifestly placed in a most difficult

* Min. Evid. p. 564.

position ; which position ought to have been steadily borne in mind by all who had charge of him, as it called for sympathy and forbearance, rather than for the repulsive harshness of marshal law. Apart from his Amapakati, or council, in concert with whom the Kaffer chiefs uniformly act, rarely or never adopting any momentous measure alone ; yet apart from these, he is required to determine an immediate levy of *fifty thousand head of cattle* ; a measure which could not but bear *much more generally* upon the *innocent* than upon the guilty,—these usually contriving to secure themselves, either by *sale*, or by *concealment* of the stolen property, thus rendering its adoption much more difficult. He indeed tells his Excellency that he could not do it without assistance ; and therefore requests that some of the troops might accompany him with the view, as we may reasonably suppose, of frightening his subjects into the measure.

No sooner however do these set out, than the commanding officer, strangely enough, gives expression to his suspicion that the king would endeavour to give them the slip ; and thus begins to work upon his fears, declaring that if he attempted such a thing he should certainly be shot. This at once placed him in the position of a prisoner of war, whereas the testimony of the governor himself demonstratively proves that Hinza came into the camp, and there remained, as a voluntary hostage : on this point therefore hinges a very weighty consideration, into which however it is not my province to enter. It is, of course, quite impossible to say what the king's thoughts were at the time he received this communication ; but it would not be at all unnatural for him to conclude that he had at length got into "*the trap*," of which the boors had long before given him warning. I never knew anything gained by this kind of suspicious *expression to the native himself* ; but I have known much achieved by evincing all possible confidence. This indeed will sometimes inspire confidence, despite of the savage himself ; whilst the other line of conduct in nine

cases out of ten, is calculated to engender suspicion, which *may* possibly break out in downright *treachery*. The whole line of procedure seems to have been most deplorable, coupled, as it was, with the strange demands of the governor at the very outset.

In formally declaring war upon Hinza, his Excellency assigns five reasons; *four* of which are grounded upon injuries sustained by British subjects. Some of these had been plundered and compelled to flee for refuge to one of our mission stations in the Tambookie country; and two others [English traders] had been murdered. As an atonement for this outrage he requires not only the *lives* of the murderers, though these also;—but *three hundred* head of cattle for each beside.

Now one of these traders appears to have fallen while the troops were in the country; and, in fact, within a few miles of the governor's camp: consequently at a moment when the people were in a state of extreme irritation; and we are not put in possession of a single word of information, as to whether the unhappy man did not in any way trifle with this irritated feeling, and thus hasten his own death. We know traders who have not been at all careful to avoid giving offence either by word or deed; and we know moreover that with the army at his elbow, and influenced by the dominant feelings of an old soldier [*believing that we know the man,*] all this is quite possible. The other is said to have been “murdered at his own door, by a Kaffer of the tribe of Hinza; or by a Fingoo servant, suborned by one of his people. And that although the act was duly made known to Hinza, no effectual steps have ever been taken for the punishment of the murderer, and for giving satisfaction in the matter to his Majesty the King of England, for this unprovoked murder of one of his subjects.”*

Both these cases are truly distressing; and if unprovoked, as stated, they called for condign punishment. But pray

* Par. Papers on the War. p. 35

what law, human or divine, would authorise the demand of six hundred head of cattle, in addition to the blood of the culprits,—backed, as that demand is by a *threat*, that *immediate* compliance therewith must form a principal condition, on which the entire desolation of the country, by “fire and sword,” was to be prevented! Is not this, *still* dealing with the Kaffers as *savages*, and not as *men*? One cannot but imagine that his Excellency must have been *conscious* that he was demanding of the native what we had never *awarded* to the native; compensation for injuries done to British subjects, such as we never made for injuries done to Kaffer subjects; and satisfaction to “his Majesty the King of England,” such as we never yet rendered to the King of Caffraria.*

* About November, 1824, a boor of the name of *Bothma* complained of having lost 8 or 10 calves; upon which the kraal of *Mokomo* was immediately attacked by a strong force of Cape cavalry and armed boors, under command of the Hon. Captain *Massey*, who seized 411 head of cattle. Two or three days after this foray, *Mokomo* sent three of his men with a message of peace to the Field-Cornet, *Vandernest*, stating that he desired most earnestly to live on amicable terms with the colonists; that, in proof of this, he had forwarded two oxen, which he understood belonged to some of the neighbouring boors, together with a female slave who had absconded from the colony; that he knew nothing of the cause of the recent attack upon his people, and therefore begged that *Vandernest* would use his influence with the commandant to get their cattle restored. Soon after their delivery of the oxen and the slave, the messengers heard the Field-Cornet order out a number of armed boors, who happened at that moment to be at his house; upon which, they concluded that their message had given offence, became alarmed, and ran off with all haste towards the forest. Having crossed the rivulet, hard by, they stopped, as if to see whether they were pursued, or to hold communication, if required; but at that moment, the boor having ordered his men to fire, one of them fell dead at the feet of his companions; and another was dreadfully, if not mortally, wounded; so that one only was able to return with the tidings to his chief. Now some time previously to this occurrence, this said *Vandernest* was amongst *Mokomo*'s clan, and requested that in the event of either horses or cattle belonging to him being found, or recovered, the Kaffers would not take them to Fort-Willshire, or Graham's Town, as he never got

them when thus disposed of, but *bring them immediately to himself*. And such was the manner in which he requited their kindness. It will, doubtless, be asked, what was the satisfaction awarded to Mokomo in this affair? Why, in the Colonial Secretary's letter respecting it, which is now lying before us, the Dutch boor in question is highly complimented for his zeal and activity as *Field-Cornet*, and then told that "although the existing regulations, with regard to the relations between the Kaffers and the Colony, *order* that all male Kaffers found within the boundary of the Colony shall be shot, his Excellency cannot learn, but with deep regret, that the Field-Cornet, Vandernest, should have been so hasty on the present occasion." Par. Papers, 1835, part i. p.p. 181, 182.—*African Sketches*, p. 454.

In August, 1830, a native warrior belonging to Bookhoo, Hinza's brother, was shot by one of our *traders* from the *colony*, on the left bank of the Kae River, and within about 20 miles of the spot upon which Sir B. D'Urban encamped, when in Hinza's territory. Because the Kaffer "continued to tease him for a present," in consideration of some little service he had rendered, the trader took up his gun, and laid him dead at his feet. He then dragged him into his hut, and endeavoured to conceal the body, but in vain, as the natives soon became acquainted with the circumstance, and gathered together in considerable numbers, so that he was obliged to flee. His arrival in the colony was speedily reported, with all the circumstances of the case; and what was his punishment? *He was deprived of his licence as a trader!* Having stated that he was not aware of the gun being loaded at the time, the matter was allowed to drop; and many weeks did not elapse before he was again traversing Caffraria, (though destitute of license,) with as much boldness as ever. The chief no sooner heard that the trader had absconded, than he despatched messengers to Butterworth, recommending some trusty person being immediately put in charge of the property, (three wagons, oxen, and a quantity of merchandise,) which he had left behind. The oxen and wagons belonged to a person in Graham's Town, who, accompanied by a friend, forthwith hastened to the spot; and, on making out his claim, received the whole uninjured. "The result of this affair," says a writer in the *S. African Advertiser*, September 29, 1830, "as far as regards these barbarous neighbours of ours, as we are taught to consider them, evinces, in the strongest light, the benefits of a change of system, as well as the happy effects produced by the Missionary Settlements among them. The institution of Butterworth, (near Hinza's residence,) was established about three years since, at which time Bookhoo had deserted his country with his followers, and robbed amongst the Tambookies. On his return, he gradually became more inclined to

From this strange disregard of native interests, and native authority, we easily slide into measures which almost inevitably tend to a perfect usurpation of *native territory*. The spirit that prompts the one, is ever disposed, and only requires a little more liberty to accomplish the other. It is thus that,

V. Their COUNTRY has been again and again desolated.

We talk indeed, and talk truly, about the peace of the colony being much disturbed, and of the great sacrifice both of comfort and property hereby occasioned ; but is there really no well grounded complaint of a similar nature on the other side ? Has not the peace of Caffraria likewise been disturbed, and considerable portions of it absolutely desolated again and again ? Such, in fact, is the present mode of proceeding that the moment our musquetry is heard in the country, every man stands in jeopardy, not knowing at whom our shafts are to be hurled ; but knowing, full well, that our general plan is to pounce upon our object by *surprise*. Cattle are wanted ; and cattle must be had of some one ; and wherever the seizure is made, *resistance is death*. Nay, from the Hon. Capt. Stockenstrom, the Aborigines Committee have learnt, that it was gravely proposed *to make the traces of stolen cattle to a Kaffer*

listen to reason : and now, when the death of one of his subjects might have almost warranted his seizure of the property, as an indemnification, he refrains, and desires that it might be taken under the care of those who he saw were spreading peace and knowledge amongst them ; and in the subsequent council, which he had ordered to assemble, we see two individuals, unattended by authority or force, surrounded by such a number, some of them exasperated by the loss of a friend, pleading their cause ; and after a thorough investigation of their claims, obtaining indemnification *to the fullest extent.*"

We leave these facts to tell their own tale, simply remarking, that compensation, or any kind of satisfaction to the above mentioned chiefs, was never, to this day, so much as heard of.

*hamlet, sufficient authority for shooting its inhabitants ! **
 The evidence of that gentleman, as also of Capt. B. and others respecting our patrols, commandos, &c., render it lamentably manifest, that numbers have been thus summarily sacrificed upon their own hearths.†

Such having been the awful power put into the hands of a company of soldiers, or a few Dutch boors, no native had any ground of confidence as to safety for a single day ; on the contrary, knowing that many of his countrymen had actually fallen under that power, though as innocent of the thefts or depredations said to have been committed, as the child unborn, he could not but feel himself ever in danger. The following fact, which I have transcribed from my journal as entered at the time, may serve to illustrate this point.

Sunday, Dec. 18th., [1825.] "Ere day began to dawn, we were aroused by the rumour of war ; and crowds of natives flocked to our station in the utmost confusion and alarm. A company of soldiers had been sent against Chusoo's clan, a predatory band, that infested the neighbouring mountains ; and the report of their guns induced all the surrounding clans to expect a visit, as no one seemed to know against whom vengeance was determined. The mission grounds were on this occasion made the

* Min. Evid. p. 238.

† In the course of evidence indeed, we find one witness, while labouring to put the best face possible upon the commando system, most philosophically *trimming* the fact of "NINETEEN SOULS" destroyed in the recovery of "TWENTY-ONE HORSES," as if beasts and bushmen were perfectly on a par, in point of value. And in this he has *unintentionally*, but strikingly exemplified the spirit of our frontier policy ; which, from the beginning, has sympathized much more fully with the parties losing cattle, than with those losing souls ; and which has all along been *cruelly trifling* with that upon which heaven has stamped an infinite value—putting it in the power of *avaricious, rash, and reckless individuals to hurl fellow-immortals into eternity*, and that without a moment's warning, on comparatively trivial pretexts. I sympathize not with the man who, to screen this person, or to court that, attempts for a moment to deny this.

rallying point; and every one seemed *there* to consider himself safe. In the course of a few hours the bushy banks of the Koonya, were completely thronged, both with men and cattle. The solemnities of the sabbath were consequently greatly disturbed; nevertheless, unpleasant as were the circumstances in which we were hereby placed, they furnished us with an excellent opportunity for enforcing a highly important lesson. Some of the chief captains were extremely solicitous to know whether we should use our influence in endeavouring to protect them from danger, in case the troops came to Mount Coke; upon which I gave them distinctly to understand, that while we should cheerfully interest ourselves to the uttermost, in behalf of all who were determined to renounce their sinful practices, the mission village must on no account whatever, be regarded as a refuge for thieves. The propriety of this principle they frankly acknowledged; and took all I said in very good part. They nevertheless disavowed all knowledge of any recent depredation upon the colonists; and I was happy subsequently to find that circumstances fully bore out the truth of their statement.

"The barbarously indiscriminate manner in which military expeditions have sometimes rushed upon the frontier tribes, spreading desolation and death on account of robberies committed by individuals unknown, has naturally rendered the very sound of such expeditions dreadful throughout the land. On all occasions of this kind, moreover, the poor women are perfect slaves. Hence, I observed many aged females passing by in the course of the day, having both heads and hands so heavily laden with hydes, calabashes, and various cooking utensils, as to be scarcely able to move. Thus circumstanced, great numbers doubtless fall into the hands of the enemy in times of war, for their husbands afford them little or no protection, nor yet any assistance whatever. The preservation of the cattle constitutes the grand object of their solicitude; and with these, which are regularly trained for the purpose, they run at an astonishing rate, leaving both wives and children to take their chance. The consequence is obvious, and most distressing; although comparatively few cattle may be lost in their flight, numbers of calves die; after which the cows give no more milk; so that the quantity of food is seriously diminished, and many a poor family is almost hungered to death, having at most nothing but wild roots to subsist upon."

Whilst such is the vexatious and injurious annoyance, to which our immediate neighbours are ever and anon subjected, the system in operation, is manifestly such as to place even the remoter tribes in considerable, and constant jeopardy. Of this fact, we have afflicting evidence in our

extermination of the *Fikani* in 1828.* As this affair seems to have formed a grand link in the chain of events, by which a spirit of inquiry has, at length, been dragged forth; and as the account given of it, in the "Caffrarian Researches," appears to have occasioned much discussion and remark, we have been led to look at the whole subject, much more closely and largely, than was ever intended.

In the course of a review of various works on Southern Africa, which appeared in one of the religious periodicals last year, this affair is distinctly and repeatedly referred to; and as if anxious to veil the sanguinary deeds connected with it, the writer [whom out of regard for his office I for-

* The *Fikani*, as far as we have been able to learn, were a remnant of the Mantatee host, which is said to have come originally from the neighbourhood of Port Natal; and which, in 1823-4, attacked the *Bat-clapee*, and other *Booshuana* tribes in the vicinage of Latako. After being there repulsed by the fire-arms of the Griquas, the main body divided, throwing off its different parts in very widely different directions. One seems to have taken a north-easterly course, and another came down to the southward, where they at length reached the territory of the Amaponeda; and having stationed themselves near the embouchures of the *Umtata River*, they, from thence occasionally sallied forth in skirmishing parties, upon the outskirts of the Tambookie tribe. "They had been bereft of their country," says a British officer in evidence, "by Chaka, and had, under *Matatusee*, the father of Matuwana, gone forth to gratify their revenge, and to satisfy their wants." (Min. Evid. p. 297.) What revenge they had to *gratify* upon the Booshuanas, who appear to have been altogether unconnected with Chaka, and whom that officer admits they first attacked, I know not; but certain it is, that these wretched hordes were goaded onwards by *dire necessity*; and having been plundered, they were compelled to plunder again to "satisfy their wants." This seems to be the grand, and most prominent feature of the whole case. Their circumstances therefore, and their situation altogether, were such as loudly called for our commiseration and conciliatory aid, rather than for a display of military prowess. Whatever they might have done, or not done to others, certain it is, that they never so much as rake a lance with us, nor yet stole an ox from us; nor does it appear that they were less than some 250 or 300 miles from our colonial frontier, at the time we attacked them.

bear to name] sagely tells us that, on visiting the Amaponeda, one of the missionaries "found that the defeat of Matuwana, by Col. Somerset, and their rescue from his power in 1828, had become the principal topics of their national songs." This intelligence, forsooth, is brought to our ears just as the report of the late invasion was beginning to lay hold of the public mind, and when Caffraria was literally groaning under the ravages of war! As the article, containing this statement, may by possibility have come under your eye, I feel bound, in justice to the Amaponeda, explicitly to state, that although I travelled, and spent some time amongst that tribe, after the event alluded to, I never so much as once heard any such topic introduced into *any of their songs, war, or national.* Passing by the fact, however, and to say nothing of the apparent ignorance, herein betrayed, of the workings of human nature, and the feelings natural to savage life, when the heathenish joy of a barbarous tribe over the destruction of its neighbours, or even of its enemies, is thus gravely presented to *the religious public,* as a sort of set off against the desolating operations of a *commando,** it is certainly high time to look all the circumstances of that case fully in the face.

* " *Commando*, is merely the name attached to a force collected; either a regular military force, or partly military and partly civil. On a complaint being made by farmers to the civil commissioner, of any loss of cattle, he forwards particulars to the commandant, (the officer commanding the regular forces on the frontier), who forthwith orders a detachment of the Hottentot corps, called the 'Cape Mounted Riflemen,' to follow in the track; and from the nearest kraal of Kaffers they are traced to, the officer demands a number equal to that lost. It frequently follows that the *innocent* are punished for *the guilty*: for the thieves are often so adroit as to mislead their pursuers, by driving the stolen cattle direct to another tribe's kraal; and then in the night time taking a circuitous course to their own. This is the usual practice of pursuing, and is called a *Patrol*; but when information has reached the commandant and civil commissioner, that there are a number of stolen cattle in any particular kraal, far in Kafferland, the former summons a

Not content with representing it as a necessary expedient, Col. W. seems to have put forth the most determined effort, when before the Aborigines Committee, to show that this expedition was really and truly a humane measure; nay more, that it was altogether "unobjectionable on the grounds of humanity." And in endeavouring to prove this, he adduces certain observations made by the Rev. Messrs. S. and B. which he places in juxtaposition with an extract from the "Caffrarian Researches," for the purpose, apparently, of neutralizing or nullifying my account of that awful business.* Highly as I esteem those gentlemen, being personally acquainted with both, and willing as I might be respectfully to defer to their opinion in matters of minor importance, it would ill become me to allow their views, or even the attachments of friendship to interfere, in such a case, with a great and public duty, affecting the interests of millions of my fellow creatures. Besides, as Col. W. has

number of Dutch farmers, and with such of the military as he may require, he proceeds to re-take the cattle; and this movement, either on a larger or smaller scale, is called a Commando." Min. Evid. pp. 4. 26.

* To give overwhelming weight to the *observations* he adduces, Col. W. I perceive, informs the committee, that the gentlemen above alluded to, "*resided many years in Kafferland*," and had therefore enjoyed "*far better opportunities of forming correct conclusions than Mr. Kay*." It is perfectly amusing to see the shifts, to which some persons will allow themselves to be driven, when determined to support a bad cause. Pray what does all this high sounding period—"many years in Kafferland"—really amount to? Why, one of these gentlemen had not been *two years* in the country altogether, at the time he made the *observations* in question, as appears from the *date*, (which, as in the other case also, Col. W. has *most conveniently left out of sight*); and the other was not in Africa at all when the Fikani were extirpated; nor did he so much as see Kafferland for the greater part of two years afterwards. Although peculiarly unfortunate for Col. W., it is, of course, no disparagement to either of those individuals, to say, that the Author of "Travels and Researches in Caffraria," was upwards of *six years* in Southern Africa, before the former appeared upon its shores; and nearly *ten*, before the latter so much as entered the field.

thought proper, without even their knowledge, to throw them into this unseemng position, and to embody their observations in his own evidence, we may fairly regard them as *his own*, and treat them accordingly. Permit me then distinctly to state, that, notwithstanding all which has even yet been said, my opinion of the appalling facts involved in this transaction remains wholly unchanged; consequently, I cannot but solemnly, and again lift up my voice against it.

First.—Because, as correctly intimated in the observations alluded to, the very “*principle*” of such proceedings is altogether “*unjustifiable*.” I never yet heard of a commando that was really, and truly “*unobjectionable* on the grounds of humanity;” nor can I, in fact, conceive it possible, as the thing has all along existed at the Cape. How the Hon. Col. managed to arrive at such an unqualified conclusion, I know not; seeing that, according to the very statement he himself has adduced, the circumstances connected with and consequent upon that commando, [and for which we therefore stand responsible,] were undeniably such as to make humanity shudder. In the outset, indeed, he singularly enough talks of some who “*hint at the perpetration of cruelties*;” as if the whole amounted to a mere shadow, talked, or written into terrific reality; and then adds, that “in discussing the merits or demerits of the commando in 1828, we have to do with facts.” Very well; let us hear the tale from the Colonel himself. Quoting from the Journal of Mr. S., he says, “several were, after all, cruelly and wantonly murdered.” Here then is the testimony of Messrs. B. and S. conjointly, as adduced by the witness in question; from which, it appears that, what the one party is said to have merely “*hinted*” at, the other has positively asserted. Happily for the former, however, much higher authority is at hand. In the Parliamentary Papers of 1835, we find Col. S., the commanding officer on that occasion, stating, *ex officio*, that “after a continued fire from six o’clock to

about half-past one, the enemy was driven from all points ; and I found, by reports from the rear, during these operations, the Kaffers [our allies,] who I regret to say did not attempt to render me the least assistance against the enemy—had employed themselves in the work of destruction, by slaying and wounding the women and children, whom they found in the huts along the mountain, and in the rear.”* From hence then, it appears, that in addition to the slaughter effected during that time amongst their warriors, by our troops, this kind of “horrible destruction,” as Col. Somerset very correctly expresses it, “was going forward for *full seven hours and a half!*” Now surely these “well attested facts” ought to have convinced Col. W. that the statements of those whom he represents as “hinting at the perpetration of cruelties,” were not altogether chimerical; but that they had some “claim to public attention,” of which, he seems very desirous of depriving them ;—and further, that the document he has produced ought not to have been “obtruded upon public attention,” unless much better supported by “well attested facts.” As it affects to reduce the sum total of “cruel and wanton murders” on that occasion, to the comparatively insignificant number of “several,” I can hardly believe that the writer was really acquainted with all the circumstances of the case; or that it was ever intended to embrace the whole affair; seeing that it, in fact, only presents to view what actually took place the day afterwards. Hence Col. S. adds, “in returning, the following day, *several* were rescued from the Kaffers, who were murdering the little children, by knocking them on the head with their clubs.”

Had this business been quite a new experiment, the case altogether would have been widely different. But with all our knowledge of the Kaffers,—of the circumstances in

* Part ii. pp. 27, 28.

which they were then placed,—of the revengeful feelings they were then indulging, towards those against whom they were going, added to all our commando practice for many years past, the conclusion is inevitable, *that*, if determined *thus* to carry out the principle of hostile interference with the intestine broils of the tribes, it became imperative upon us, not merely to prohibit barbarity and wanton cruelty, but, to put some effectual check upon the infuriated spirits of our allies; the neglect of which, certainly involves the *question of humanity*. Why the latter should have been *left in the rear*, and our troops made to fight their battles without so much as allowing the *native forces* first to try their own strength, is a question which naturally rises in one's mind. Would it not have been quite time enough for us to have rendered *that kind of help*, when trial had given proof that they were really too weak, and therefore in danger of being overwhelmed; and that the *appearance*, moreover, of *our army in their rear* was not sufficiently influential? Apart, however, from these considerations altogether, I cannot but regard,

Secondly.—The mode of attack, as being any thing but “unobjectionable,” on the grounds above stated. Notwithstanding all that has been done, and I believe every thing has been done, that could be done, to give the best possible aspect to this part of the transaction, it is still too manifest, that the entire extermination of the *Fikani, rather than their salvation*, was contemplated. I wish it could be satisfactorily made to appear otherwise.

It must not be forgotten, that these ill-fated hordes had been attacked about a month before; and that, as appears from the letter of a British officer recorded in the Minutes of Evidence, by a party, whom the colonial government had commissioned to visit the Zoolah king, “for the purpose of endeavouring to persuade him to relinquish the plans for subjugating the several tribes, between his country and the

colony, which it was understood he had formed." After travelling ten or twelve days, and witnessing the ravages made on the coast by certain bands of that chief's warriors, our ambassador received a message from, and forthwith joined the Tambookie chief against the Fikani, accompanied by as many of his attendants as were willing to engage in an enterprize, so different from that on which they originally set out. "On my meeting with Voosani," says that gentleman, "he represented to me the condition of his plundered people;" upon which, "I recommended him to collect his men, which, having made previous preparations for that purpose, he did the following day; and a body of six thousand moved forward. I myself, with twenty men of my party, accompanied them, intending to assist in the event of that being necessary. On descending into the plains near the embouchures of the Umtata river * * * the opportunity of giving the marauders a lesson offering itself on this occasion, I did not hesitate in availing myself of it," &c. This "*lesson*" cost the Fikani *many lives*, and five or six and twenty thousand head of cattle; all which, the Tambookies were allowed to take, as an indemnification, without reference either to *identity* or *number*, as touching those they had lost.* This, as might have been anticipated,

* "The Government," says a correspondent in one of the Cape papers, (the "Colonist,") "is at length committed; blood has been shed, and the colony perhaps plunged in war. How far all this might have been avoided, wiser heads than mine must determine. On all such occasions there is a difference of opinion; but I must say, that those who deplore the event greatly preponderate." And then, in the same number, the editor himself remarks, "that the attack made upon Chaka's people," (which the Fikani were supposed to be, the distinction between the two bodies not being *then* fully understood,) "is a gross violation of the laws of nations, appears manifest from the authorities produced in our former number, which are corroborated by another eminent writer in words to the following effect;—"How evident soever may be the justice of our pretensions, and the advantage which we have reason to expect from a

so enraged *Matuwana*, their chief, that he immediately determined on retaliating, and soon afterwards sent to Voosani a threatening message, declaring that he should pay him a visit when "the white men, with guns, were not at hand to help him." This threat was at length executed ; and then followed the commando in question. Although several weeks elapsed however, between this, and our last attack, during which interval, attention was again and again called to the subject in the public papers, I never so much as heard that any measure was ever adopted by way of inducing these strangers to retire from our frontiers ;—no warning was ever sent, apprizing them of our intentions, in the event of their *not retiring*; nor had we, in fact, any friendly intercourse with them whatever. That they were accessible is clear, the officer, just alluded to, having himself informed us that the messengers sent to *Matuwana*, even by the Tambookie chief, although not very graciously received, were permitted to return. "It was fully my intention," adds he, "to have sought an interview with *Matuwana*, the Monguana chief, but I considered that had I done so, previously to the attack, time would thereby have been given to him to secure the captured cattle in the fastnesses of the mountains ; and the great object I had in view, in giving assistance would have been lost sight of, and when, towards evening, the Fikani had retired, that was impossible, or rather hazardous." I should think very much so, and hence it was very wise in the gallant commander not to attempt it; for it was scarcely probable that the enraged chief would then have received him in a very friendly manner, after the drubbing he and his people had just experienced.

From hence, then, it is quite evident that there was no war, we must not for that reason at once have recourse to arms, but try beforehand to terminate the affair by some mild method." Puffendorff, *Droit des Gens*. liv. 8. c. vi. § 4.

kind of negociation with Matuwana on *that occasion*; and our next, and last meeting, was even more hostile still; for we then pounced upon him with all the force the colony could possibly spare: consequently, so far as we were concerned, all intercourse with that people from first, to last, was not only unamicable, but absolutely enemous and destructive; *that*, in short, if any wish existed, no proper effort was ever made to *sare them*. The moment our soldiers first heard of them, the Tambookies were "*advised*" to muster all their forces for a battle with them:—when Hinza, and his neighbour, subsequently requested colonial assistance, nothing less than a commando could be thought of;—and when that commando reaches the spot, they are not so much as allowed to see it, until made to feel its overwhelming power. “The enemy,” says Col. S. “was prevented seeing my force, by a small ridge which intersected the plain. Capt. Aitcheson having marched round this, moved up to the enemy’s advance to within fifteen yards of them, when the interpreter spoke to them. I observed that he continued his endeavours to *parley* with them, for a considerable time; during this period, the enemy continued closing in upon his small party, evidently endeavouring to surround him.” * * * Capt. A. finding himself thus pushed, was obliged to fire in his own defence.”

Now upon this “*parley*,” I beg leave to remark, 1. That numbers, to my certain knowledge, who were actually on the commando, and evidently within a very short distance of Capt. A. at the moment he is said to have been engaged in holding it, asserted, most positively, and that immediately after their return, that nothing of the kind had ever taken place; the whole, therefore, must have been managed, not only very *quickly*, but very *quietly*. And 2dly. Admitting, for a moment, that the officer’s life was in danger, I cannot even yet understand the “*hu-*

manity," of therefore endangering the lives of thousands by rushing *instanter* upon a tribe of naked Africans, with all our force of cavalry, musquetry, and heavy artillery! With regard to this story about Capt. Aitcheson's danger, however, all will doubtless be able to form a tolerably correct idea of its weight and importance, when told that he was not only well mounted and armed himself, but backed by a thousand troopers and twenty-six thousand natives, who were all within gun-shot; and supported too, right and left, by a party nearly, if not quite, equal to that which completely routed the very same people only a few weeks before. Nevertheless, admitting even still further, that all this really took place, and that there was the danger stated, I would, 3dly, put it to every well-constituted mind, as to *whether such a parley, under such circumstances, by a British army, and with an uncivilized people, almost wholly ignorant of our mode of warfare, could really and truly be deemed "unobjectionable?"* The account given by Col. S. which fell into my hands but a short time ago, more than substantiates all I had stated in the "Caffrarian Researches,"—rendering it most startlingly evident that the Monguanas, agreeably to general patrol and commando usage, were taken by *surprise*,—no message having been sent forward—no warning given that a battle was intended, nor any intimation whatever, that our *troops were at their door.*

Had the commando *shewn itself* on the top of the hill, and there pointed out to the barbarian army the *utrum horum*, the olive branch or bayonet, we should have had something to say in their defence; but instead of this, they were kept in the shade *behind the hill*; "where," says the commanding officer, "I halted for a few minutes, to make the necessary disposition of my force:" during which short interval, and while actually preparing for battle, he "directed Captain Aitcheson to move forward with the interpreter and

about twenty men, and endeavour to speak with some of the enemy's people." It seems to have been quite immaterial *who* he spoke with, or *how*; and despite of all possible candour, a query will arise, as to whether the grand object of this movement was not to secure something in the shape of a pretext, for the dreadful blaze we were just about to open upon them, and enable us subsequently to say that such a thing had been done, *rather* than to give the Fikani any thing *like a fair chance for life*. Hence the moment Capt. A. is seen to fire, without another question, "*I lost no time*," says Col. S., "*in sending the supports forward, when the action became general at all points*." This, observe, took place about *dawn* of day; so that while a great part of the people were still fast asleep, the rush of horses, the clashing of spears, and the horrid roar of musquetry thus poured in upon them on every side. According to information communicated to the author, by persons who witnessed the whole scene, very few seconds seem to have elapsed ere every hut was vacated, and thousands seen scampering off in every direction. Numbers, gaunt, and emaciated by hunger and age, crawled out of their miserable sheds, but with pitiable apathy sat, or lay down again as if heedless of their fate. Many of the females cast away their little ones, the more readily to effect their own escape; whilst others actually plunged into the deepest parts of the adjacent river, with infants upon their backs. In this situation, some were drowned; others speared; and many stoned to death by the savage throng. When the troops returned to the point whence they started, the field presented a scene indescribably shocking;—old decrepid men, with their bodies pierced, and heads almost cut off; pregnant females ripped open; legs broken, and hands severed from the arms, for the purpose, apparently, of getting the armlets or some other trifling ornament; little children mutilated and horribly mangled; many, in whom the spark of life had become extinct; some,

who were still struggling in the agonies of death, and others nearly lifeless, endeavouring to crawl *about amongst the dead*. And yet it is now gravely argued, before a "Select Committee of the House of Commons," that the commando signalized by these, as a few of the concomitant circumstances, was altogether "unobjectionable on *the ground of humanity!*" There can be little doubt however, but the committee, and indeed the whole British public, will be much more strongly inclined to adopt the opinion of the Lieut.-Governor, who frankly declares that this "expedition has brought such indelible disgrace upon us, that any attempt to prevent a repetition may be safely considered supererogatory."*

That Col. W. with such an authority before him, and with such facts in full view, should drag into evidence the following passage is certainly passing strange. "If any doubt the humanity of British interference in 1828, let him travel along the Umtakalie River; and among the mountains near the sources of that river, and in the burnt kraals and humau skeletons which he will observe on all sides, he will find specimens of the humanity of the Zoolas, Zwabies, and *people of Matuwana.*"†

Now if the Hon. witness was really driven to such a line of argument as this; and this expedition, in the opinion even of its apologists, required such a ghastly flourish of words—exhibiting "*human skeletons*" as "*specimens of humanity*" forsooth, and that amidst the most horrid scenes of Zoola cruelty—in order to render it at all reconcileable, no one, I am persuaded, will find much difficulty in arriving at a just estimate of its true character, from this passage alone. And if "*burnt kraals*" [hamlets,] and "*human skeletons*," are to be pleaded in justification of "British interference," we may play away: our officers and

* Min. Evid. p. 119. † Ibid. p. 211.

troops, however strong, may calculate upon full employ for years to come. If commandos are to proceed, *on such grounds*, to rout, and to *ruin* our sable neighbours, *body* and *soul*,—pretexts, quite as plausible, will soon be forthcoming, for the driving back of Matsilikaatsi in the North, and for the extermination also of Dingaan, and the Zoola clans in the East. Such a principle of action, to say the least of it, is shockingly analogous to that upon which the most barbarous tribes in the interior have, from time immemorial, been acting. Hence, on visiting the Marootzi in 1821, I found them arguing in precisely the same way; as was the young chief of the Wanketzens also: who, together with the Morolongs, was proceeding to the help of his neighbour for the express purpose of exterminating the Boquains, because the latter had not only plundered, but killed some of his men, and set fire to several "*kraals*." If we are really to *take* the advantage of such a plea, why then, in all fairness, we must *give* it; and I apprehend there will be little question about the Kaffers themselves having repeatedly had pretexts, not very dissimilar, for a war with the colony—"burnt kraals and human skeletons" having been left lying along, not "the Umtakalie" only, but various other rivers in Caffraria, where our patrols and commandos have again and again scattered FIREBRANDS, BALLS, and DEATH.

In support of these extreme measures against the Fikani, however, it is alleged that the colony was in peril; and that "the Kaffer, and Tambookie tribes were in danger of extermination."

So says Col. W.; and so likewise say the gentlemen whose opinion he cites; and if I could believe such a thing, I would certainly say so too: but thinking that this conclusion is far from being "substantiated by well attested facts," I am inclined to regard it as having very little "*claim to public attention*." After much diligent inquiry at the time

the plea was first set up, and subsequently on the *Umtata* itself, near where the battle took place, I am compelled to reject the idea altogether. Nothing was more easy, nor anything more natural, than for the border chieftains to argue thus, and to say that they must necessarily fall back upon our frontiers, unless assistance was rendered them. The "lesson," in fact, given to the "Marauders" only a month before, and so apparently beneficial to the Tambookies, could not but inspire them with hope that we should again be ready to fight their battles, provided they could make out a case sufficiently strong. In all this sort of calculation and contrivance, the Kaffers are by no means wanting.

Much stress indeed, is laid upon Matuwana's "advancing towards the Kaffer and Tambookie tribes, with the fixed intention of exterminating them, in order that he might possess their cattle, and obtain a secure settlement in their country." Nay it is further most positively predicated, that "*this he would have done*, had it not been for the interference of the British troops under Col. S."

But it surely does not therefore *necessarily* follow, as here assumed, that he certainly would have accomplished all this, *because he "intended" it*; or *because* such is the "decided opinion" of a gentleman, who was comfortably rusticating in England, long after poor Matuwana and his people were blown up. Admitting however, for a moment, that he really did indulge the expectation of obtaining a "secure settlement in the country," *did* the guns of our ambassador, and his company, do nothing towards arousing him to a sense of his delusion? And supposing even that to be the case, had he ever numbers, or strength sufficient to effect any such purpose? Col. W.'s *hypothesis*, of course, proceeds upon that supposition; but I never yet met with any one that was prepared with any thing like satisfactory proof that he had. If indeed he really possessed any such power, how happens it that the Tambookies alone, headed

by a British officer and about twenty men, were sufficient to *rout*, and to wrest from him five or six and twenty thousand head of cattle? Was it at all likely that these miserable hordes, after finding that they were unable to stand against this paltry force, would throw themselves headlong upon the whole Kaffer nation; or, after having thus painfully ascertained that the colonists were prepared determinedly to support their neighbours, that the Monguana chief, with his mere *band of spearmen*, would madly rush upon the whole colonial force? It may serve Col. W.'s argument to imagine such a thing, and a nervous little man like Mr. B. may be excused in the indulgence of such a dream, having doubtless heard many romantic tales about it; but I never yet saw any probability in the case, from that *quarter alone*. Had Matuwana's forces been joined by those of Chaka, the case would have been widely different; but the latter had manifestly retreated, some time before we came into contact with the Fikani at all; besides which, there was no probability of any coalition between those two bodies whatever.

Apart however from the argument altogether, I beg leave just to call attention to two or three important facts, which ought not to be lost sight of.—*First*; although, as proved in evidence, just in the rear of the Kaffer, and Tambookie tribes, during the whole of “the two preceding years,” certain it is, that *they did not exterminate those tribes*, whatever their “*intentions*” might have been.—*Secondly*; although enraged by the attack of the Tambookies, when led on by our officer and his party, and doubtless stirred up to do their utmost, they had not advanced a single yard, at the time our troops fell upon them, from the spot on which that officer *first met with them*.—*Thirdly*; We are informed, moreover, by Col. S. himself, on the authority of a Fikani woman, who fell into the hands of our troops, after the conflict, that, although his people were somewhat

restless "Matuwana was desirous of remaining inactive," in the position in which they found him; and in which, there is reason to believe, he had been stationed for some time—nearly three hundred miles beyond our boundary.*

With the whole of this affair then before us, together with the sanguinary deeds detailed in evidence by Col. W. himself, as connected with, or consequent upon, our commandos; and looking moreover, at the desolating proceedings of 1812, when the tribes were driven out of the *Zuurveldt*;—at the havoc made four or five years afterwards, amongst Shlambi's tribe, whose dominions were scoured, and whose herds were driven off by our troops, not for any depredation committed upon the colony, but because their chief would not lie quietly under the feet of *Gaika*, his nephew;—at the carnage of 1818, 1819; and at the "*brilliant deeds*" of the last commando,—by no means a bad specimen of all the rest;—against whom, in the name of truth, we would seriously ask, does the charge of "*blood-thirstiness*" and cruelty most fully lie? Yea, and in the name of the perishing African, we must beg still more seriously to ask, *where* is this ruinous system to end? It has now been in operation for many years, quite long enough to afford sufficient proof of its capabilities. Has it ever effectually protected, or thrown a shield over the colony? Let the late invasion answer this question.†

* Par. Papers 1835, part II. p. 38.

† "Our system of military coercion," says Capt. Stockenstrom, "has now been tried for a length of years, without having brought about one single beneficial result; for even according to the views of the military commandant, the frontier is in a much less tranquil state than before any troops were stationed near it; and though the reprisal system has been in operation ever since 1817, robberies are said to be as numerous as ever, and both colonists and Kaffers more poor. On that part of the borders where we have the most desperate enemies, there is not a single soldier; and we all know that 10,000. men could not effectually secure that immense open extent of country: we have therefore no remedy for the evil

Has it at all improved the frontier tribes, or rendered them better neighbours? The most determined advocates of a warlike policy will hardly, I presume, venture to assert this. So far from inducing, in the Kaffers, a better feeling towards us, it has all along been doing much towards strengthening their very worst passions, making them indeed a race of cunning desperadoes,—now stirred up to acts of spoliation, by poverty and absolute want; and then to deeds of blood by a spirit of revenge. And what wonder, seeing that, as already intimated, it is in fact so shockingly analogous to that upon which the most barbarous tribes in the interior have been acting from time immemorial; and that in its operations and influence, it is decidedly and far more destructive. Where the one has ruined its “thousands,” the other has slain or beggared its “tens of thousands.” For proof of this, we need not go a step beyond the last campaign. Because our frontier districts were disturbed [not taken from us ;] many of the colonial herds carried off;—a number of colonists slain; and several houses burnt down; for *eighty, or a hundred lives,* we have taken **FOUR THOUSAND** [“warriors,”—how many women and children is not said ;] —and having seized thousands of cattle more than were lost, we then proceed to take “*almost all their goats,*”—*destroying all their gardens,—laying waste all their corn-fields,—and “every where setting fire to their habitations.*” This done, we lay hands upon *seven thousand square miles* of land—in addition to the thousands taken in former years; leaving **SIXTY THOUSAND** fellow creatures perfectly *landless, houseless, and penniless*, where there is nothing in the shape of mechanical arts to depend upon; no parishes, or work-houses to flee to; no government that will help them; nor but strict justice, the exemplary punishment of *our own*, as well as the foreign depredators; this alone will ensure peace, extend commerce, and bring about the inevitable consequence—civilization.”—Min. Evid. p. 102.

any charitable public to sympathize with them ; and where they must consequently perish of famine, *destroy their neighbours*, or be *destroyed* !

On the present system, however, and according to the present governor's views, "they have been chastised not extremely, but *perhaps* sufficiently."*

* Par. Papers respecting War, p. iii.—I trust all who are disposed to set down every appalling view of Kaffer grievances, as an *extreme one*, will seriously contemplate these facts, in all their bearings. A copy of Lord Glenelg's despatch, to Sir B. D'Urban, of Dec. 26th. 1835, happened, some time ago, to fall into my hands; upon the margin of which, the following remarks were here and there pencilled—"too strong;"—"extreme view;"—"rather coloured" &c. Such are the cold, and heartless measurements of men perfectly at ease in England,—of men, who never either *felt*, or *witnessed* the African's distress; or of persons, with whom, *interest* is a much more weighty subject than *humanity*. *En passant* however, we may remark that, with the latter class especially, there seems to be very little difficulty in *admitting the opposite extreme*. One of these, whom the Author happened recently to meet with in company, while endeavouring to ward off the censures due to his friend, on account of injurious, conduct amongst the natives, and to give all possible weight to the sentiments of an Africanized relative, who, with all the eagerness of a Jew, is looking for a share in the anticipated government compensation, [and in whose mercantile projects, his own prospects are said to be considerably involved] laboured hard, and anxiously—adducing the speech of one, the opinion of another, and extracts from the letters of a third, setting forth, in the strongest language, the very *extreme* he wished to convince us all that the Kaffers could not but be *blood-thirsty, cannibal-like*, and all but infernal; and that they therefore, *ceteris paribus*, ought to be *driven out of our way*. Now if such reasoning is still to be attended to, we must still stand prepared, ever and anon, to hear of one governor after another ruining other tribes, and seizing other tracts, until the country, in all its length and breadth, is completely confiscated; or until the dense population of the interior is brought down upon us *en masse*. It is by no means improbable that some would, from time to time, be found quite ready to back such measures, in the hope of preferment; and others in anticipation of more extensive farms; whilst every successive governor doubtless would find an apparently sufficient pretext, for this kind of territorial extension, in the want of a new, and more secure boundary. Of this, the entire history of that colony surely furnishes demonstrative evidence.

Some of the “*lessons*” given by our soldiery, while inflicting that chastisement, such as lying down in the grass, and advancing behind the shields of Fengoes, who seem to have been used as a sort of DECOY DUCKS, the more effectually to insure a sweeping shot,—will not soon be forgotten.

From the days of Van Riebeck, the first governor, it is lamentably manifest that the rightful possessions of the Aborigines have been less or more earnestly coveted; and that lawless cupidity has never been at a loss for reasons why they ought to be pounced upon. In the Journal of that old Dutchman, under date of Dec. 1652, we read that, while looking from the mud walls of his fortress, at Cape Town, upon the herds of the natives he could not but express his *astonishment at the ways of Providence, which could bestow such very fine gifts upon the heathen!*

In the beginning of the last century the whole colony, seems to have been embraced by the immediate vicinage of Table Bay, extending but a few miles from Cape Town. One large tract has been seized after another however, until now, with a population of ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY OR FIFTY THOUSAND SOULS, at most, it embraces *more square miles* than England, Ireland, and Scotland put together. There is hardly a range of hills indeed, from Table-mountain to the Stormbergen, or a stream of water, at all worth noticing, from the Salt River at the Cape, to the Zwaart Kae in the east, or to the Gariep or Orange River in the west, which has not, at one time or other, been regarded as the very *best*, and the very *worst* line by which the colony could possibly be bounded. Finding that numbers of boors, despite of all law, had overstepped the old limit, to the very great detriment of the Aborigines, and thus placed themselves beyond colonial jurisdiction, Earl Macartney, in 1798, declared the *Zondaga River* insufficient, and determined on making the *Great Fish River* the Kaffer boundary: consequently, 10,000 square miles were taken from the frontier tribes, and added to our colonial territories, as by a single dash of the pen. In 1819, that boundary also lost its character, and the *Keiskamma River* was proclaimed as the eastern extremity, which gave us about 2000 square miles more; and which, of course, reduced the Kaffer domains in proportion. In 1835, we gallop over both these rivers, and throw out our line as far as the *Kae*, taking in 7000 miles more, that river being now deemed the very best boundary possible.

And then, with regard to the northern limit; “The increase of territory,” say the Commissioners of Inquiry in 1826, “chiefly derived from lands that were occupied by Bushmen, cannot be estimated at less

If such acts, recorded even in the government dispatches, are to be really numbered amongst the "*brilliant*" *deeds* of our troops, we must cease to execrate either the Bushman or the Kaffer, for lying in ambush behind rocks or

than *forty-eight thousand square miles.*" This, however, is not deemed sufficient. Because numbers of boors in that quarter had, with their families, flocks, and herds, again placed themselves beyond the reach of colonial authority and right, another large tract is taken from the same *wandering outcasts*, in May, 1835; "*Because*," says the governor, "it is important to make the boundary perfect; and because the tract, in question, is frequently occupied as grazing ground, beyond the frontier, in dry seasons, by the farmers on the north-eastern side of Somerset, who have therefore very earnestly prayed that it may be added to the colony; and that they may be allowed locations therein, which will be a very beneficial arrangement for the public interests."

Thus have the scattered remains of the Bushman tribe been completely bereft of their territory, and left in wretchedness extreme. Having traversed the very grounds alluded to, and witnessed the workings of the evil which has now come down upon them with such distressing weight, we know whereof we affirm, when we say that *their misery is altogether indescribable*. It may be worth while just to mark the different steps by which we have, at length, reached the measure above-mentioned. 1. Numerous bands of colonists are *permitted*, from time to time, and at pleasure, to trespass upon their *LANDS*, with thousands of horses, sheep, and cattle;—2 To take possessions of their *FOUNTAINS*; which, in that country and climate, are invaluable;—3. To destroy their *GAME*, which constitute the Bushman's chief subsistence;—and now, finally, their domains are unceremoniously seized, *because*, forsooth, "*very earnestly prayed*" for, by men, who, as every body knows, have from time immemorial, been hunting them down like partridges upon the mountains; and because, furthermore, it is deemed "*a very beneficial arrangement for the public interests!*" But where now shall we find the rightful owners? Why far beyond the ordinary range of men. Having been robbed of all the rights of men, and indeed of all but life, and in thousands of instances of that also, they have been compelled to seek refuge, and dwelling places, in the glens of the desert, in the thickets of the jungle, or in the clefts of the rock. There it is, that we must look for the Bushmen in general—on the points of projecting craggs; or upon the heights of towering precipices, watchfully surveying all beneath With eagle-eyed fierceness;—with bows fully bent;—with darts deeply poisoned;—and with an air that betrays far less fear than hostility, they

thickets until able to secure a deadly aim.* Who does not here feel the striking appropriateness of the following extract, from a late poet's description of the Kaffer;—

“ He is a robber?—True; it is a strife
Between the black-skinned bandit and the white.
A savage?—Yes; though loth to aim at life,
Evil for evil fierce he doth requite.
A heathen?—Teach him, then, thy better creed,
Christian! if thou deserv'st that name indeed.”

Pringle.

stand, ever prepared to take fatal aim at all who have temerity enough to approach their rampart.

Is it at all surprising that such men should have become determined plunderers, or that the colony should be occasionally disturbed by others who have been similarly treated? Unless an entire change of system take place, such disturbances cannot but be inevitable! For, notwithstanding the vast extent of territory we now possess, the desire for enlargement seems still to be as ardent as ever. Thousands, tired of lawful restraint, and determined particularly to elude the Emancipation Bill, have, as the committee have learnt, actually thrown off the yoke, and proceeded into the interior, taking with them as many of their slaves as they could possibly secure; whilst numbers more are most anxiously suing for portions of the land, just taken from the Kaffers, as appears from the following piece of evidence, adduced by Lieut.-Col. Cox.

Q. “Was the number of applications made, very considerable?”

A. “Yes, it was, by the farmers and boors. I saw a number of petitions myself, from the boors that served under me in the commando; and even as far down as Cape Town, they were very anxious to possess some of the territory.”

Q. “Do you conceive that there were applications enough to absorb the whole territory?”

A. “I conceive so; as far as the Buffalo River.”†

These would not, of course, be very well pleased to hear that his late Majesty—to his immortal honor be it spoken—had put a positive negative upon the *claim of sovereignty over the new province, bounded by the Keiskamma and the Kae*; and that “even if there were the most powerful motives of apparent expediency to recommend this extension of his Majesty's dominions, which,” says the noble Secretary of State, “I cannot allow, YET HIS MAJESTY WOULD NEVER CONSENT TO CONSULT EXPEDIENCY AT THE EXPENSE OF JUSTICE”—Lord Glenelg's Despatch to Sir B. D'Urban, Dec. 26, 1835.

* Par. Papers on the War, p. 51. † Min. Evid. pp. 432. 436.

It is an incontrovertible fact, that the border tribes are growing in knowledge, and increasing in arms every year; and small as is their number, comparatively, on our eastern frontier, they are, manifestly, quite as many as we are able to manage. Their situation, their general habits, and their independent spirit, all combine to render them distressing, and *increasingly expensive* neighbours, if *treated as enemies*: we may indeed occasionally knock them down; but, by such means, we shall never *keep them down*, unless indeed, prepared to kill them outright. Recent events sufficiently show that by a sudden and desperate effort, they are able, in a week or two, to carry the spear through our frontier provinces, and put the whole colony in confusion. What then might be expected from our driving them back, or throwing them into the sea beyond, but the stirring up of its waves, which would sooner or later again reach our shores, and that, in all probability, with a far more overwhelming force. Let but the teeming population of the interior,—with which, that along the whole line of frontier, is but as a drop of the bucket,—be thus put in motion against us, adding its poisoned darts, and battle-axes, to the Kaffer's "Assagai," and headed by a few companies of renegade boors, and it is surely not difficult to conceive on which side the horrors of extermination are most likely to fall. By the slave trade, the great mass of the inhabitants of Africa seems, from time to time, to have been driven into the very heart of the country; insomuch that the coasts, unlike those of almost every other Continent, are comparatively thinly populated: but the commando system, backed by our present colonial policy, promises fair for provoking, and again bringing them out of their place. Besides, looking at this subject in the light of Sacred Writ, we are bound to believe *that* the ear of the Most High cannot have been inattentive to the cries of those oppressed tribes; *that* the plains of that long benighted country, cannot have been so

repeatedly stained with human blood, and strewn with human bones, without his knowledge, who saith, “all souls are mine;” and *that* heaven cannot have beheld us hurling immortal spirits into the eternal world by thousands, without disapprobation. There is but too much reason to fear, that the Almighty has a controversy with that colony ; and that our own measures, in many instances, have tended to heighten that controversy, rather than otherwise. Upwards of *forty years* have now elapsed since it fell into our hands : during which period, tens of thousands have been expended in military expeditions against the tribes ; but, with the exception of one solitary establishment on the Chumie River, which constituted the residence of the government agent, whilst that office continued—I am not aware that we have spent so much as a single shilling, of public money, in providing them with any thing in the shape of religious instruction. Not a single church, nor chapel, nor school-house, have we erected throughout the whole of Caffraria ; nor have we supplied them with a single teacher, preacher, [the government agent excepted] or catechist whatever. All this sort of work, upon which the peace and prosperity of the colony so much, and now confessedly depends, has hitherto been left to the unaided operations of Missionary Societies exclusively ; and even these, were allowed to do little or nothing, until 1823-4! With such irrefutable facts before us, it is surely high time to acknowledge that “we have done the things we ought not to have done, and left undone the things we ought to have done;” AND THAT, ALTHOUGH BUSHMEN, AND KAFFERS, WERE ALL ANNIHILATED, HEAVEN HAS OTHER INSTRUMENTS AT COMMAND, BY WHICH WE AND OUR FORCES MIGHT EASILY, AND VERY QUICKLY, BE SWEPT INTO THE SEA.

And now arises the grand question, WHAT IS TO BE DONE? A very brief answer embraces all that is requisite ; let us *do unto the Kaffers, as we would they should do unto*

us. Redress their grievances; and let them clearly see that we are determined, henceforward, neither to do, nor to ENDURE WRONG.

In compliance with your request, when before the "Aborigines Committee," I ventured, with all deference, to submit a few thoughts upon this part of the subject also; and beg leave here to embody a few others, which have since occurred to me. I am happy to find that our wishes, as to the appointment of a Lieut. Governor to reside on the frontier, are already anticipated ; and that by an act passed in the month of August last, all crimes, committed within any territory adjacent to the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and Southward of the 25 deg. of South Lat., are now rendered cognizable in our own courts of justice. On these two important points, therefore, it is unnecessary to say any thing further, excepting by way of hailing them as preludes of a happier æra. But,

FIRST :—Seeing that the *Commando System*, as stated in the Despatch of Mr. [now Lord] Stanley, dated Nov. 27, 1833, has been such "*a fearful scourge to the native population*," let his late Majesty's "Disallowance of the Ordinance, No. 99, and of Lord Macartney's Proclamation" respecting commandos, be at once, and fully carried into effect. Why that system should have been again allowed so awfully to play upon "the native population," in 1835, is most unaccountable, seeing that "his Majesty's commands" upon this very subject, as signified to his Excellency the Governor, in the above-mentioned Despatch, required that said "Disallowance" should positively "take effect on the 1st. day of Aug. 1834,"*

SECONDLY :—Let the *colonial boundaries* be immediately and clearly defined, giving to the natives all possible security against further encroachments,

THIRDLY :—Let *all lands, still unoccupied*, on the left bank of the Great Fish River, and beyond, be forthwith restored to the frontier tribes; and compensation made for all others, which, from time to time, have been taken from them, and given to colonists, in the best way existing circumstances will possibly allow. †

* Par. Papers, 1835, pp. 54, 55.

† At page 516 of the Minutes of Evidence, one gentleman, I perceive, has given it as his opinion, that "If we, as a nation, communicate to the aboriginal inhabitants of our colonies the means of christian instruction, and moral improvement,—if we make them the

FOURTHLY :—That each chieftain be duly and impartially recognized; and that no one be treated with, by the colonial authorities, in any matter belonging to his neighbour :—*that* the whole of the Kaffer frontier be divided into districts, for each of which the respective chiefs shall be held responsible, in all matters affecting the colony ;—and *that* each, according to the principle already adopted on the northern frontier, be allowed a small annual stipend ; thus making it *their interest* to protect, and promote ours.

FIFTHLY :—That a *special treaty* be immediately made with the Kaffer chiefs collectively, binding them to protect all British subjects who may, from time to time, go into their country for commercial, or other, and all lawful purposes, so long as they conduct themselves in an honest and peaceable manner; guaranteeing, on our part, equal protection to any native who may have occasion to come into the colony, and whose conduct involves no breach of law, nor any violation of our usages.

SIXTHLY :—That all treaties with the chiefs *respectively*, and collectively, duly confirmed by the British Government, be published, and made fully known on both sides of the boundary ; so that the Kaffer, as well as the colonist, may perfectly understand the relative situation in which he is placed, and the requisitions binding upon both.

SEVENTHLY :—That it be proclaimed *actionable* for any colonist to drive his flocks, or herds, on to the lands of the natives ; to destroy their game ; or to take possession of their fountains ; and *that* the natives thus injured, shall, in all, and every such case, be legally entitled to claim the full amount of damages, in any of our *colonial courts of law*.

EIGHTHLY :—That a sort of Consular Agent, or Agents, be appointed to reside in Kafferland, and within a *convenient distance* of the *principal chiefs*, fully empowered to *arrest*, and send into the colony for trial, any British subject who may have injured the natives, either in person or property ; and likewise to hear, and determine offences of a minor

possessors of our common christianity, and our social and civil privileges, we shall confer upon them advantages which will counterbalance the loss they have sustained: for, after all, if the natives are brought to the enjoyment of christianity and civilization, they will not need so great an extent of territory as they do now, in their uncivilized and roving state ; a much narrower compass of land will then be sufficient for their comfortable support." But what are they to do in the mean time ? All will admit that we cannot, *instanter*, turn a pastoral people into a perfectly agricultural, or commercial one; nor can we civilize the Kaffer nation in a day. The great principle of justice, I conceive, demands that the compensation in question should be not *prospective only*, but *immediate*; and of such a character as they themselves will be able to *appreciate*. We have, confessedly, wronged them, in a way which has absolutely reduced them to want; and we are, therefore, bound, as far as in us lies, to *relieve that want*: but it would avail very little indeed for the starving Kaffer to be told that we are about adopting measures, which, in process of time, will undoubtedly raise his nation to all the dignity and comfort of civilized life. This, christianity certainly *binds us to do*; whilst *common honesty* requires that we should *not leave the other undone*.

description.* Said Agents also to constitute the legal medium through which traders, and others, shall make known their grievances to, and demand redress of, the respective chieftains; being, at the same time, the proper organs of communication between the latter and our government.

NINTHLY:—That a duly qualified person be appointed to act in the colonial courts, as counsel to the Kaffer, and other natives residing beyond our frontiers; *that he be placed in an independent situation, as to the local government, and required to report his proceedings regularly, and directly to the British Government.*

LASTLY:—That the Colonial Government be instructed to facilitate, by every possible means, the establishment and extension of christianity amongst the Kaffer, and other tribes beyond,—making such annual grants, to the various missionary societies, as may further the work of civilization on the different stations—supplying them, at least, with agricultural and other implements, and with the means of employing mechanics, or artizans, as circumstances may require; always leaving, however, the selection of suitable persons to the *missionaries themselves.*

To the principle of this suggestion, I confidently presume no objection will now be started, seeing that the voluminous mass of evidence, adduced before the “Aborigines Committee,” tends so thoroughly to establish the following important facts, for which we have long been contending, and which, indeed, lie at the very root of all missionary operations, viz.—*that it is our interest to secure the affections of the Kaffer tribes, by instructing, and affording them means of employment;*—*that civilization is essential to their becoming good neighbours, and faithful friends to the colonists;*—and *that christianity constitutes decidedly the best, and only effectual means of civilization.* It is now surely

* As much must, necessarily, depend upon the agents employed in the working of any plan, however excellent, the selection of suitable persons will, of course, constitute a point of paramount importance. I trust, therefore, that Government will never again think of committing the office of agency, amongst the Kaffers, to a missionary; nor yet of entrusting it to any man bearing the sword—the martial spirit of the one, and the spiritual duties of the other, manifestly disqualifying both for the proper occupancy of such a station. Put in men disposed to coerce, rather than conciliate, to substitute arbitrary force for reasonable and manly firmness, and as far as their influence extends, they will doubtless do much towards frustrating, not only your purposes, but ours; and on the other hand, place missionaries in a position which might, by possibility, be construed into that of spies, and there would, in all probability, be an end put to their usefulness at once.

sufficiently evident that all attempts fail to furnish proof, from history, of any nation being civilized, in the proper sense of the word, *without christianity*. Nor is it less clear that the world does not, even now, any where present to view a people, amongst whom,—independently of christianity, directly or indirectly,—the morally wretched condition of man has been effectually relieved; or whose minds have been the better prepared for the reception of divine truth, by any *mere civilizing process*. Whilst, on the other hand, we have the undeniable fact, standing out in striking and bold relief, that the most *christian nations* are really and truly the most civilized. In a word, christianity must be regarded as the proper and legitimate cause, and civilization its natural and necessary effect: the one is undoubtedly the tree, of which the other is, in fact, the foliage and fruit.

With regard to the Kaffers, however, one witness, I perceive, has given it as his opinion, that “the missionaries have not done so much in the way of christianizing them, as they have been useful in a political point of view:”* another, who seems to have made a sort of flying tour through certain parts of the country, informs the Committee, that they have done very *little towards civilizing the natives*:† and then comes a third, declaring that they have not improved the native character “in the least.”‡

* Min. Evid. Quest. 1557.

† Ibid. Quest. 3380.

‡ Ibid. Quest. 173, 177.—This, it must be observed, is the testimony of a Capt. A. whose very business, for the last eighteen or twenty years, has led him to regard, and deal with the Kaffer as *an enemy*;—who has frequently been called to head different parties of boors against the various clans on our frontiers, and to carry into effect measures, which, as appears from the evidence of the Hon Capt. Stockenstrom, “in nine instances out of ten, punished the innocent for the guilty;” and whose views therefore, could not but ill accord with those of the christian missionary. *Hesitancy*, in the latter, to facilitate his wishes, or comply with his request, was, of course, an offence; and any thing like remon-

Now, in reply to these statements, I beg leave to observe—
FIRST, that if any one ever thought of civilizing the tribes in question, the attempt was certainly never made, until missionaries began their work; and, **SECONDLY**, all that has been done in the way of civilization, has unquestionably

strance against his warlike purposes, would be a crime. To day, we find him putting on an air of kindness towards the Kaffer chieftains, and hereby inducing something like confidence; and to-morrow setting fire to their habitations, and driving both chief and people off the grounds of their ancestors, at the point of the bayonet, without being able to assign a single reason for such proceedings, excepting, “*my orders are to do so.*”* One day, it seems, this gentleman was most grievously disappointed on finding that the inhabitants of a certain hamlet, whom he was “ordered to surprise,” had got out of his way; and still more deeply chagrined, and mortified, on learning, that the natives really did not think Capt. A. quite so “*great a man as the government that sent him.*” The pride of this distinguished personage appears to have been mortally wounded; and being determined to avenge himself upon some one, he comes before a “Select Committee of the House of Commons,” declaring the missionaries had done no good at all; and insinuating that they had done much harm, because, forsooth, he could not but think *they had taught the natives to take care of themselves*:—nay worse, that the Rev. John Ross, of the Glasgow missionary society, although “questioned very closely,” would not so much as tell him *whither* they had gone; but actually “hid the chief under his bed,”† so that the soldiers were, in fact, unable either to seize, or shoot him!*

If this, indeed, were the only kind of attack made upon our Caffrarian missionaries, we might allow it to pass unnoticed; but, on further referring to the printed Minutes of Evidence, we perceive, that an officer of still higher rank has chosen to distinguish himself in the same sort of campaign. Because another of those missionaries deemed it his duty, some three or four years ago, to make public certain facts, involving proceedings of a most hostile and injurious tendency, with the view of prompting inquiry, and stirring up the British government, at least to prevent the infliction of additional evil upon the tribes, this gentleman is pleased, most *unhesitatingly*, to charge that missionary with nothing less than “intentional falsehood.” And to substantiate this charge, or give it something like the appearance of truth, in a document, duly signed and sealed by his own hand, he inserts a passage, framed to his own liking,

* Min. Evid. pp. 7, 8.

+ Ibid. p. 10.

been effected through the instrumentality of christian missions, and missionaries. So much for the mere generalities of the question; and the following facts may, perhaps, enable the public still more correctly to judge of the credit due to the above declarations.

and marked by inverted commas, as a *quotation from the missionary's statement*; which statement, however, on being carefully examined before the Committee, and that in the presence of the gentleman himself, was found to have no such passage in it, from beginning to end. Upon this extraordinary proceeding—of which no explanation whatever has been offered—it is quite unnecessary here to pronounce an opinion, its real character being sufficiently palpable.

Then comes a gentleman, of even higher rank still, charging the Rev. J. Brownlee, of the London society, with having palmed upon the Cape public, in the name of one of the chiefs, various statements confirmatory of certain letters that appeared in one of the Cape papers, defensive of the Kaffer; and the Rev. George Barker also, with having given "an account totally at variance with the truth," concerning the arrest of Mocomo, who appears to have been rudely seized by our soldiery, on one of the mission stations, Oct. 7th, 1833. Having peremptorily ordered that chief out of the mission house, the sergeant "proceeded instantly to load his firelock, and also gave orders to his men to do the same. In this degrading situation they kept him, [in the open air] the gaze of the multitude, and the sport of soldiers;" and then took him prisoner to one of the military forts. And all this, forsooth, because he had come over a narrow ridge of hills, which we have been pleased to designate the boundary, not indeed to murder any one, nor yet to steal any thing; no, nor so much as to injure us in any way whatever; but to attend a *missionary meeting*, at the Kat River; from the beautiful banks of which, as we have already seen, he and his clans were literally driven by our troops some three or four years before. Had this spirited young prince so much as attempted an escape, he would, in all probability, have experienced a fate similar to that of the late Hinza himself; and this would doubtless have been followed by a proclamation like that found in the Parliamentary Papers of 1835, informing the world that "thus terminated the career of a chief whose treachery, perfidy, and want of faith, made him worthy of the clan of atrocious and indomitable savages, over whom he was the acknowledged chieftain." Having, for years, been intimately acquainted with both the missionaries above named, I hesitate not to affirm that they are far, *very far* above every thing like the conduct here ascribed to them: no one, excepting indeed the witness

1. THE DEPORTMENT OF THE KAFFER IS MANIFESTLY
ALTERED.

The mere traveller cannot but have observed that some, on every station, have laid aside their native costume altogether;—others also, are partially clothed in European

in question, would so much as suspect them of any thing of the kind. It is well known that a great portion of Mr. Barker's life has been ardently devoted to the religious interests of the Aborigines within the colony; and it is as well known, that Mr. Brownlee has long been indefatigably labouring amongst the Aborigines beyond. To place this worthy man in his proper position, it is not indeed necessary to imitate the unhallowed practice of some, who, to accomplish a purpose, or to gratify party spirit, invidiously and fulsomely cry up one missionary at the expense of his brethren, whose labours, though *noiseless*, have, in all probability, been far more abundant. Suffice it here to say, that he is one of the most pious and devoted missionaries in Caffraria; and one who was toiling hard, and suffering much, long before any of the rest of us were even permitted to enter that country at all. As the lives, comfort, and *all*, of such men, are exclusively devoted to a cause, which, in point of character, is at the very antipodes of that of the mere soldier,—a cause, in which they have to endure privations and hardship, as well as labour, without any prospect whatever of earthly reward—of *preferment*, or of a *retiring pension*—a discerning public will doubtless know in what light to view imputations like these, coming from *such quarters*, and at *such a time*.

Before closing this note, we may just glance at certain expressions of the governor himself; which, although not ascribable to the same spirit, are nevertheless calculated, upon the whole, to be even still more injurious. That any missionary should have countenanced extreme measures, or in any way expressed approval of his Excellency's terrible line of procedure against the natives, is certainly cause of deep and lasting regret; but that Sir B. D'Urban should represent this as the *rule*, and not the exception, is really passing strange. In his Despatch of Jan. 21, 1835, he is pleased to say that “*all the missionaries on the border*, men of peace and religion, concur in one opinion of the wanton atrocity of the invasion, and of the impossibility of any other remedy than that of the sword.” Upon this declaration, however, it is relieving to find a decided negative by the Secretary of State, the governor being distinctly informed, in Lord Glenelg's Despatch of Dec. 26, 1835, that “this statement was evidently made under a misapprehension of the real facts of the case—conclusive proof to the contrary being then before his Lordship.” Four

apparel ; and numbers more are anxiously wishful to imitate their neighbours in this respect, but have not the means, or ability to procure the requisite articles. Amongst the surrounding population, moreover, a becoming sense of decorum is more and more observable daily. When we first visited them, the men evinced no sensibility of shame whatever in standing before strangers, or even entering the mission houses, uncovered. Instances, however, of this description are now comparatively rare. The mantle is generally and carefully wrapped round the person, as soon as they appear in the mission village ; and when, through forgetfulness or carelessness, this piece of etiquette has been neglected, I have repeatedly seen the laugh of the crowd turned upon the offender, in such a way, as to induce the utmost confusion.

or five months after this first attempt, however, we find his Excellency, most prejudicially, again laying hold of *the whole of the missionaries*. Hence the following passage, in his Despatch to the Earl of Aberdeen, June 19, 1835. "The *missionaries all* acknowledged to me, with the reluctance natural to such an admission, but with the expression of their sincere conviction, that in the course of their long and diligent labours, they could not flatter themselves that they had ever made a lasting salutary impression upon one of the race of Kaffers." "This statement" also, must have been penned under some *deplorable* "misapprehension of the real facts of the case;" for, that no "such admission" was ever made by "*all the missionaries*," is a fact, resting upon the most "conclusive proof." This proof, moreover, is supported by the *direct* and unequivocal testimony, now lying before me, of *one of the very missionaries alluded to*, who *positively* declares that "*all the missionaries*" never acknowledged any thing of the kind. But if *any one* of them ever made "*such an admission*," I trust Sir B. D'Urban will, in justice, name that missionary; and that the body, to whom he may belong, will immediately banish him from the field; as he is certainly not only *unworthy*, but absolutely *unfit* to remain in it, being either embecile or regardless of truth, or both. Should no other end be answered by these things, they will doubtless teach all concerned a lesson of caution. The unwarrantable use recently made of missionary letters, unguarded expressions, and even *private memoranda*, will, at least, constitute a warning never to be forgotten by missionaries in future.

2. MARRIAGE HAS BEEN INTRODUCED.

"If marriage," says a late, and justly celebrated divine, "be a relation which the wisest governments have ever encouraged, which every religion has consecrated by prescribing its ceremonies, and the rights and duties of which, all enlightened legislators have guarded by strict enactments, it is to be concluded, that they have considered it as intimately bound up with the happiness and morality of society. No persons, at least, professing any respect for the laws of this country, or reverence for the christian faith, can doubt this; nor can any institution exert so powerful an influence to tame the savage mind, and soften it into man, when encouraged on christian principles, and guarded by christian sanctions. Then it is, that animal appetite is elevated into affection, and that man, feeling an individual interest in the family that surrounds him, resigns himself to those kind instincts which nature has fixed in the breast of a parent, and feels a motive to exert himself for the benefit of his children. Domestic affections soften his feelings, and prompt his industry; character then, for the first time, acquires a value with him; he has a stake in society, and an interest in its peace and improvements. The sum of public virtue is, in fact, made up of domestic virtue, and may be estimated by it; nor are there any civil virtues, which have not had their birth and infant play upon the domestic hearth."

By the introduction of this sacred rite, polygamy has been entirely banished from all our mission villages, in which, no man is allowed to settle who is determined to keep two wives: and as numbers have been brought to submit to a regulation like this—a regulation which, as all must perceive, strikes at the very root of a most prolific source of evil, deeply seated in the native mind generally—and that without the aid of any national or legal enactment, nay, in a land where both law and usage are at the very antipodes of every thing of the kind, no one, I presume,

will find much difficulty in deciding upon the weight due to Capt. A's opinion, as to the non-improvement of Kaffer character

3. THEIR VIEWS OF FEMALE CHARACTER ARE CONFESSEDLY ELEVATED.

Consequently, from the lowest possible state of degradation, in which they were doomed to the drudgery of building, digging, sowing, reaping, &c., numbers are now gradually rising to a participation of the comforts of social life, having exchanged the field for the domestic circle, manual labour for household duties,—a change, which nothing, I conceive, short of a powerful conviction of their being *fellow immortals*, could have induced the Kaffer to allow. They are now, therefore, suffered to occupy a seat with their husbands, and even to eat out of the same dish—a privilege never enjoyed before, excepting in cases of extraordinary favouritism. Destitute of all *right*—not having any title whatever to property, no, not to a single head of cattle, even if the deceased husband had possessed a thousand,—and being hardly permitted, in nine cases out of ten, to stand on a par, in point of worth, with the cow or the ox, they have uniformly been regarded, and dealt with, as a *source of gain to parents*, or other relatives. These, according to universal usage, have invariably sold their daughters, when marriageable. But hearing that an old native, residing with us at Butterworth, was making the usual contract, several of our christian converts got round, and reasoned him out of his purpose; and he afterwards frankly owned to the author that he was perfectly ashamed of having ever indulged the thought of thus degrading his child by putting a price upon her.

4. THEIR HEATHENISH CRUELTIES HAVE BEEN MATERIALLY CHECKED.

On every mission station, the various superstitious ceremonies, to which the people have from infancy been

accustomed, are almost wholly laid aside. Some of these were of the most inhuman character, inflicting torture, and excruciating pain by means of stinging insects;—of *branding* with heated stones;—of *roasting*, or of burning until nearly dead. Their sorcerers, or rainmakers, likewise, a class of impostors, and the ringleaders in all this kind of cruelty, with whom every missionary has, less or more, to contend, have been put to flight; being, confessedly, unable to dwell where the light of the gospel shines. Hence I very much question whether one of these men could now be found within a circle of many miles round any of the stations. This circumstance will appear the more important when it is stated, that the living stand in constant dread of them,—their property, life, and all, being not unfrequently put in jeopardy, the moment they begin to call an assembly. On these occasions, every one is kept in perfect suspense, as to the object of vengeance, until they announce their verdict, which is, generally, based upon some supposed witchcraft. Numbers are hereby driven to the necessity of plundering *for subsistence*, being reduced to absolute beggary in a moment, and not suffered so much as to ask the *why*, or *wherefore*. Upon the incantations and enchantments, moreover, of these fellows, depends *exclusively*, and *universally*, the hope of recovery on the part of the sick and dying.

5. WAR HAS, UNQUESTIONABLY, BEEN PREVENTED.

Clannish broils are, by no means, so frequent amongst the bordering tribes as formerly; owing, as the natives themselves admit, wholly to the presence and influence of missionaries. At the time of my appointment to the Butterworth station, a most hostile feeling prevailed, and war was just on the point of breaking out between Hinza and Voosani. These two great rival princes,—to whom, as already intimated, all the other chieftains, along the line of Kaffer frontier, were confessedly subordinate,—had long

been on unfriendly terms ; and, although living within a few miles of each other, it is said they never saw one another until brought together in the field, with our commando, in 1828 ; on which occasion, they met, and parted, without so much as exchanging compliments. Knowing all this, and observing, in every direction, great numbers busily engaged in making shields and spears, one of my first objects was to put down, if possible, this rising flame. This, however, for some time after our arrival, continued to be daily fed by reports of additional depredations, and of various petty quarrels amongst small parties in the outskirts of the two tribes ; all which were eagerly seized, as strong reasons why war should be declared. Having repeatedly remonstrated with Hinza upon the subject, as had my predecessor likewise ; and having personally visited Voosani, to assist in the settlement of a missionary in *his* territories also, I one day brought the matter to a point, informing the king of the cordial reception we had experienced from his neighbour ; reminding him likewise of his own act and deed, in formally constituting us "*pillars in the house of Khowta,*" [a phrase implying adoption into his father's family] ;—of the danger in which war would inevitably place us ;—of the probable influence of such a circumstance upon the colony ;—and, *abore all*, of the wrath of Almighty God, which might thereby be provoked. He heard me very patiently ; and, almost immediately afterwards, called his council together, and issued orders for the relinquishment of all warlike plans, as, "we *cannot fight*," said he, "while the abafundis (missionaries) are in the way." No battle, therefore, was fought ; nor any blood shed.

6. A PEACEFUL DISPOSITION HAS, IN NUMEROUS INSTANCES BEEN INDUCED.

In proof of this, we need only advert to the undeniable fact of general tranquillity having been kept up on the frontiers much longer, since christian missions were esta-

lished amongst the Kaffer tribes, than at any preceding period of our colonial history. It further appears, that all who had embraced christianity, *positively* and *perseveringly* refused to take any part whatever against the colony, although, doubtless urged, by the belligerent chiefs, to do so ; and that *hundreds* actually joined the colonial forces, with the view of securing its defence.* A *third* circumstance too is deserving of notice here, as it tends very strikingly to illustrate the *humanizing* influence of religious

* The following is extracted from the Graham's Town Journal of Jan. 23rd, 1835, and is here inserted to shew the disposition of the chiefs with whom we first began our missionary labours. They are the sons of old Kongo ; who, (as stated at page 15) was wantonly murdered by a party of boors in 1812 :—“ To the Editor.—Sir,—In your 158th number, in the fourth column of your leading article, on the chiefs, Pato, Kama, and Kobus, you observe, ‘ that it was supposed they might be induced to declare in favor of the colony, if security were afforded.’ Are you aware, that, previous to any serious rupture, or before they knew its extent, they sent in a manifesto to the commandant, declaring their views to be the same, and their determination equally firm, as in October, 1833? Are you aware, that Pato reinforced the Gualana post, at the call of that officer, with two hundred men; that he remained in the service of the English, until the post was vacated; that since then these brothers have been employed night and day, and many of their men, sending messages to every part of Caffreland; that they have patroled their own boundary—taken cattle and horses from marauding parties, and seized all such cattle amongst their own people, some of whom (I believe chiefly of one branch of the tribe) have broken loose from the very formal declaration of the chiefs, and have plundered? On these no punishment has as yet been inflicted; but I believe the chiefs only wait to know from the British Government, how they wish them to act towards such, and they are ready to comply. I will add, I have witnessed the conduct of these chiefs; they have stood without wavering, surrounded by threats from the hostile tribes in every direction. They have protected every Englishman within their power; and I believe no colonist has been more anxious to see the British cause prosper than they have been, and still are,

“ I am, Sir, yours, &c.

“ W. SHEPSTONE.

“ Wesleyville, January 13th, 1835.”

knowledge, even where christian principle has not yet gained the ascendancy. It is quite notorious, that in all former wars, the Kaffers massacred men, women, and children indiscriminately : but *during the last*, it is well known, that many instances occurred of European females, and children, falling into the hands of the enemy, who protected, and finally restored them to their relatives in safety.—Add to this a *fourth* fact ;—that the hostile chiefs themselves, at the very commencement of the war, gave special charge to their warriors concerning all missionaries,—not one of whom was to be hurt, ~~on~~ any account whatever, which injunction appears to have been strictly attended to—and I think it will fully appear, that the very worst of the Kaffers, are by no means so “blood-thirsty,” as some would have us believe. That they are capable of deeds most revolting and sanguinary, when excited by the prospect of spoil, or by revengeful feelings, as in the case of the Fikani, to wit, we unhesitatingly grant: but is this deplorable propensity peculiar to the Kaffer? Is there really no other order of men possessed of capabilities at all similar, under similar circumstances, notwithstanding very superior privileges? Or would any man, quite recollective, think of seriously charging upon the whole Spanish nation, for instance,—and that as a purely national characteristic,—the malignant, and bloody spirit, so frightfully evinced in the course of the war by which Spain has been so long, and so fearfully distracted? We can easily divine the answer.

7. A DESIRE FOR EDUCATION HAS BEEN CREATED.

It is a grand mistake, to suppose, that the Kaffers are at all devoid of that curiosity, and inquisitiveness, which form such distinguishing traits in the character of sentient beings generally. In these properties, indeed, they certainly excel; being, like the ancient Athenians, *ever in quest of news*. All, who have been amongst them, cannot but know that Indaba intonina [what news?] is one of the very first

questions put to travellers, and passengers of every description. Yea, eager as they are for presents, even to clamourousness, the generality very rarely think of soliciting any thing before "news." The acquisition of this, uniformly stands coupled with all the various avocations of life—with their walks, with their journeyings, and even with the most trifling errand upon which any one can be sent. To furnish the chiefs with news, numbers are constantly running to and fro, in every part of the country, and sometimes for days together—inquiring, listening, and sifting in every company they meet with; insomuch that the former are quickly made acquainted with almost every thing going on amongst neighbouring clans, and tribes; whilst many of their informants receive little, or nothing for their trouble, excepting the gratification herein experienced, and afforded; unless, indeed, their feudal lords happen to be feasting, at the time they bring their report: in that case, they are presented with a piece of flesh, over which they contentedly sit and chat for hours. So completely, indeed, is this inquisitorial disposition mixed up with the general habits of the Kaffer, that I have frequently been accosted, when proceeding from hamlet to hamlet, by mere lads—ten or twelve years of age,—who, although at a distance, tending the herds, would shout indaba, indaba, [news, news;] and on seeing me halt, they would instantly encircle my horse, and evince as much intentness, as though their happiness really depended upon their catching the sound of "some new thing."

This disposition, connected, as it is, with great strength and tenacity of memory, seldom leaves the Kaffer destitute, as to conversational topics, of one kind or other. Taciturnity is a trait, rarely observed amongst them; and they seldom appear more happy than when hearing, or communicating something fresh. Being, some months ago, in company with the Kaffer chief, Tzadzoo, with whom I was well

acquainted while in Africa, and who has recently been visiting various principal towns in England, I wished to know what he thought of our country, of the state of society, and of the different scenes he had witnessed: upon which, he observed, "Ik ben verwondert; en als ik t'huis kom, ik moet indaba vertel, indaba vertel, dag in, en dag nit, tot dat ik oud als mijn vader worden; en dan zal ik niet gedaan hebbe:—ja, tot dat ik sterrven; en dan ook zal ik niet tot een einde kome: daarom moet ik een deel na den Hemel neme; en daar verhaal." "I am astonished: and on my return home, I shall have to tell the news, and tell the news, the day in, and the day out, until as old as my father; and then, I shall not have done:—yea, until I die; and even then I shall not have finished; but must take part of it to heaven with me, and there complete my story." With minds then, of such a cast, every one will easily perceive, that it is quite impossible for the missionary to take his stand in their midst, with a book in his hand, without inducing the question, "*what is he doing?*" And upon further hearing, "in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God," their curiosity is turned into inexpressible astonishment, often amounting to reverential awe. On seeing him, moreover, occasionally sending messages, expressive of their own sentiments or wishes, wrapped up in pieces of paper, and committed to their own hands, for persons at a distance—a thing which the oldest man amongst them never before witnessed, and of which they, of course, never heard from their forefathers—many are constrained, very anxiously to ask, "and can Kaffers not learn to do the same?" Numbers have been thus led to send their children to the mission schools; and several of the adults likewise stirred up, to "*talk with the book themselves.*" Some of the former, are now able to read the word of God with ease, and fluency: considerable portions of it have been translated into their own language: a printing press is employed in preparing

rudimental and other works for their use ; and the colonial government itself is, at the present moment, indebted principally, if not wholly, to missionary labours, directly, or indirectly, for its very best interpreters.

8. COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE HAVE BEEN PROMOTED.

Who ever heard of a PLOUGH amongst the Kaffers before christian missions were commenced ; and what was our trade with the interior worth, before these began to extend their civilizing influence ? A weekly fair, indeed, was held at one of the military forts, to which, the natives were allowed to resort ; but although undoubtedly well designed, it is perhaps somewhat questionable as to whether the good or the evil, resulting from that measure, *preponderated*. It certainly proved a means, at least, of increasing the jealousies already engendered, by our former measures, amongst the different chieftains, Gaika, our old ally, availing himself of the circumstance of its being held in his immediate neighbourhood, for taxing each who attended it, and sometimes most exorbitantly ; so that clannish quarrels often arose, and open war was more than once threatened. Missionaries, however, having opened the way for traders into almost every part of the country, this kind of collision has long since ceased ; *and it must not* be forgotten that two hundred of these men were busily engaged in Caffraria alone, at the time the late war broke out.

From an account, now lying before me, it appears that the exports of one year, from Algoa Bay, amounted to upwards of £80,000 sterling ; *fifty or sixty thousand* of which was, in all probability, realized in *the Kaffer trade* ! Many of the natives have already acquired a knowledge of the use of English currency, although it was but as yesterday introduced into the colony. This, we may hope, will at no very distant period, in a great measure at least, supersede beads and other baubles, which at present constitute the bullion of the country. The quantity of

cutlery, ironware, and European implements of husbandry, now found amongst the Kaffers is very considerable; whilst some have got wagons likewise, and are adding horses, sheep, and goats to their stock, which formerly consisted of *horned cattle* exclusively.—For huts, several have substituted a small description of houses; in the planning, and erection of which, they are, of course, assisted by the European artisan belonging to the station. This renders the task, to them, less formidable, and discouraging, than it otherwise would be; and at the same time secures attention to the ground plan of the village, laid down by the missionary himself. Useful, and practical knowledge is hereby imparted in a way which at once benefits, and binds them to the station.

9. THE SABBATH HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

By all enlightened politicians, the utility of sabbatical institutions has been acknowledged, even when they have regarded them under no higher a sanction than the civil benefits they induce.—“That interval of relaxation,” says Paley, “which Sunday affords to the laborious part of mankind, contributes greatly to the comfort and satisfaction of their lives, both as it refreshes them for the time, and as it relieves their six days labour, by the prospect of a day of rest always approaching.” And again; “joining in prayer and praise to their common Creator and Governor, has a sensible tendency to unite mankind together, and to cherish and enlarge the generous affections, whilst the frequent returns of such sentiments, as the presence of a devout congregation naturally suggests, will gradually melt down the ruggedness of many unkind passions, and generate, in time, permanent and productive benevolence.” Deeply as we may have been convinced of all this however, and sensible as we must have been of the various, and numerous benefits resulting from a due observance of the sabbath, until christian missions were commenced, our sable

neighbours, although so contiguous, were kept as completely in the dark, respecting this sacred institution, as though the ocean itself, had formed the line of separation. Kafferland, in all its length and breadth, like the still more extensive, and unexplored regions beyond, was WHOLLY SABBATHLESS; so that "*holy day*" was an expression perfectly unintelligible. Hence, when we first pitched our tents amongst them, the natives would frequently come laden with milk, corn, and other articles of a similar description, for sale, on Sunday mornings the same as on other days. Every annoyance of this kind, however, has long since ceased; and whilst *all the chiefs*, on becoming acquainted with our fixed rules upon this subject, generally leave us in the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of the sabbath, by *some*, it has even been PUBLICLY AND FORMALLY PROCLAIMED.*

* The following is a copy of the proclamation of three of the Kaffer chiefs, to whom we have had occasion repeatedly to allude,—dated Wesleyville, Oct. 29, 1833.—“We, Pato, Kama, and Kongo, the chiefs of the Gunukwebi tribe, this day assembled at this place, having taken into our serious consideration the state of our people, have come to the determination to issue general orders, which shall henceforward be considered a law of our tribe, *viz.* :—

“That from, and after the date of this twenty-ninth day of October, 1833, all our people shall reverence and observe the sabbath, by abstaining from all work on that day, except such as is considered absolutely necessary. And we, the chiefs, do declare that no law-cases or any business be transacted, nor dances kept up, on our own kraals, as heretofore, on the sabbath; and that all manual labour shall cease on that day. And we do further declare, and particularize, and prohibit throughout our tribe, all manual labour, all dances, and all law-cases at the kraals of our petty captains, and all buying and selling, except food to strangers; and that all traffic in hides, horns, ivory, cattle, or any other articles, except food, shall be fineable by the chiefs. And we do recommend to our people, in addition to that which we have commanded them, to observe the sabbath by more generally worshipping God on that day, and praying for blessings to descend upon us;—and, that none may plead ignorance of the seventh day, if any be in doubt, let them inquire of others until they are fully satisfied.

No one now ventures so much as to hold his council in the mission village on the Lord's day; nor are any of the inhabitants seen digging, sowing, or planting in their gardens on that day. A pleasing stillness usually distinguishes the morning from every other; and its sacred hours are regularly divided between the schools and divine worship. All who have substituted European apparel for their native costume, now manifestly take pleasure in shewing it with as much neatness, and cleanliness as

"And be it also known, that we do also hereby prohibit all colonial traders from purchasing any hides, horns, ivory, cattle or any other marketable article, except food for their own use, from any of our people on the sabbath day. And as we have several times had to reprimand some for thus breaking the sabbath; and as we find our people plead the example of such men as a justification of their own breach of that day; therefore, we have, on further consideration, determined to levy a fine on all such colonial traders as shall be found purchasing any thing on the sabbath, besides food for their own use, which shall be as follows:—

"For the first offence, one head of cattle:

"For the second offence, two head of cattle:

"For the third offence, three head of cattle.

"And if any transgress beyond this number, then we will use our own discretion to levy such fines as we may think proper.

"That such fines shall only be levied by one of the principal chiefs; and the act of purchase shall be proved before one of us by such evidence as is required in other cases.

"That all traders' places shall have a messenger sent to them from the great place; and that the editor of the Graham's Town Journal be respectfully solicited to insert this our determination in that publication, for the more general information of all who do, or may for the future, trade amongst or with our people. By request of the chiefs,

{ PATO,
KAMA, and
KONGO.

"P. S. All hunting on the sabbath must be understood as strictly prohibited by the above law. By request of the chiefs,

{ PATO,
KAMA, and
KONGO."

possible. In the beginning, our public services were occasionally disturbed by whisperings, bursts of laughter, or jocular remarks amongst the hearers; but now, the congregations, generally speaking, are characterized by as much order, and becoming solemnity as any I know.

10. THE RITE OF SEPULTURE ALSO IS NOW OBSERVED.

The custom, universally prevalent, was to cast out all, excepting principal chiefs and their wives, *while dying*, to expire in the forest or the ravine; and to constitute food for beasts of prey, which doubtless rendered the latter much more ferocious, and dangerous than they otherwise would have been. Now, however, the dead are decently buried; and concerning some we are also able to add, they "died in the Lord." This innovation, however, upon ancient usage was at first, not a little difficult, as the natives were afraid to touch a corpse, thinking that it rendered them unclean: but by doing this ourselves, and occasionally helping to make the grave, their prejudices were at length overcome, and their superstitious notions, connected herewith, are rapidly giving way.

Have christian missions then been the means, in any degree, of changing Kaffer habits—of introducing christian marriage—of elevating the female character—of checking internal wars—of inducing a peaceful disposition—of creating a desire for knowledge—of promoting commerce and agriculture—of raising valuable servants, and making better neighbours—of establishing the Christian Sabbath, smoothing the bed of death, and dispersing even the gloom of the grave; we leave it with the British parliament, and public to determine, how far justice is awarded to us, by gentlemen who say, that little or nothing has been done, and "that a lasting salutary impression" was never "made upon one of the race of Kaffers :" by gentlemen too, who have confessedly had opportunities for studying the true character of the Kaffer, whose benighted mind it is that

constitutes the habitation of those prowling passions which are the objects of their dread, and the instruments of his misery; who, themselves, however, never so much as attempted to shed a ray of light upon it, nor to correct any one of his vices; and who are now, apparently, little less indignant at his “outrages,” than at the men who have long been labouring to prevent them—who have exhibited their chief cause, in the description of his wrongs—but who, in doing this, have been led conscientiously to question the glory of certain military achievements, as well as the *capability* of *such measures* for ever effecting any thing like permanent protection of the colony, or complete conquest. To these, however, it is sufficiently satisfactory to know that their work, so big with mercy to a most interesting people, cannot here be placed under the protection of public sentiment in vain; and that the parliament of Great Britain will not allow undertakings so dear to humanity and piety, seriously to suffer, either from *reproachful representations*, or *artful insinuation*. The appeal, which, when the bodily wrongs of the exiled African only were in question, roused every feeling of humane interest, both in parliament and throughout our land, will not be less powerful when connected with the national, and immortal interests of the same neglected race—seeing that it, in fact, infolds not earthly considerations merely, but the solemn destinies of eternity itself—“AM NOT I A MAN, AND A BROTHER?”

That the work is still but in its infancy,—that its fruits are, as yet, visible only, or chiefly, on the several stations,—and that, even there, they may possibly not be quite so conspicuous as the mere traveller, or passenger, unacquainted with local circumstances, had anticipated, I am willing to grant: but that they nevertheless exist, and that in a shape sufficiently tangible to constitute satisfactory evidence, to every unprejudiced observer, of their being the

result of a leaven, such as was *never before cast into the mass of Caffraria, by any other means, or system, whatever*, I am bold to affirm. That their growth has, in no small degree, been impeded by the systematic proceedings of those, who now wish the world to believe that the natives have not been improved "in the least," must be apparent to every one: let us not, however be misunderstood; we wish not, on that account, to blame them, so much as to condemn the principles, on which, they have all along been required to act—in many instances, most unwillingly, no doubt. But that the harrassed Kaffer should still evince such confidence in British missionaries, is certainly more than surprising, seeing that British soldiers have ever and anon been going to, or passing by their stations, in battle array;—encamping on, or near them;—communicating with them, sometimes by letter, at others in person, and always in a language unintelligible to the native himself, and consequently calculated, on such occasions, to arouse suspicion, and fearful apprehension. We are not now indulging notions at all chimerical; but looking at causes which have, in more instances than one, produced their natural and perilous effects. It was by feelings engendered in this way, that the life of one of the Caffrarian missionaries—well known to the author—was greatly endangered, at Klip-plaats, in February, 1829. A young Tambookie chief, knowing that a military officer had spent the night with him, suspected that the missionary had, some how or other, facilitated the plans of a patrol, which had just before been recapturing stolen cattle in the neighbourhood; he therefore entered the mission house with an armed band of warriors, fully determined to assassinate him; but was most providentially overruled. The chief himself, afterwards, frankly and regrettfully owned the conspiracy; expressed himself as being at a loss to know why they had not carried out their purpose, and was severely reprimanded

by his superior, for having so much as indulged the design. They had actually crowded the house—in one corner of which, the missionary and his interpreter sat talking with them,—and waited only for some occurrence to divert his attention, that they might spear him; “*but,*” said they, “*the arms of men were that day weak.*”

Looking, therefore, at the whole subject fairly, and fully,—at the absolutely withering influence of the present FRONTIER POLICY; which, like the deadly Upas, could not but throw a sickening shade over every thing in the shape of civilization, and religious improvement, rendering them, at best, but like stunted exotics, trying to shoot, but unable to flourish:—At the COMMANDO SYSTEM too; which, as we have seen, *Simoom* like, has every now and then poured its terrible force upon the tribes—scouring their already scorched plains,—blighting our rising prospects,—upsetting all confidence,—converting missionary stations into military encampments, and mission houses into soldiers’ barracks,—consequently furnishing the evilminded amongst them with every possible pretext for deeds the most desperate;—and, *finally*, at the full tide of PAGANISM *within*, conjoined with this overwhelming pressure from *without*,—it is certainly not so surprising that comparatively little has been effected, as that any thing at all has been done. The little ground already gained, under such circumstances, cannot but be regarded as a grand achievement; as an encouraging proof of what may be done; and as the earnest, moreover, of what undoubtedly will be done, as soon as proper and sufficient facilities are afforded. The day was, when beginnings in Great Britain herself were quite as small.

“Let us then enter upon a new, and nobler career of conquest. Let us subjugate ‘savage’ Africa by justice, by kindness, by the talisman of christian truth. Yea, let us *thus* go forth, in the name, and under the blessing of God, gradually to extend a moral influence; and, if it be thought

desirable, the territorial boundary of our colony also, until it shall become an empire—embracing Southern Africa from the Keisi, and the Gariep, to Mozambique and Cape Negro,—and to which, peradventure, in after days, even the equator itself shall prove no ultimate limit.”

Apologizing for the freedom of these remarks, which have grown upon me to an extent far exceeding my original design, and trusting that your candour will discover a sufficient vindication of the course I have pursued, in the peculiar and momentous circumstances of this case, involving as it does, not THE WEAL OF AFRICA ONLY, but THE INTERESTS AND HONOUR OF MY COUNTRY;

I am, Sir,

Your obedient, and very humble Servant,

STEPHEN KAY.

JUNE 21st, 1837.

N

POSTSCRIPT.

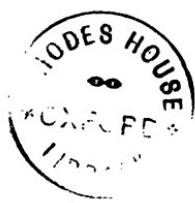
FROM a report of parliamentary speeches, delivered a few days ago, I perceive one of the members is disposed to lay considerable stress upon the fact of "two or three thousand colonists having crossed the frontiers," being "dissatisfied with recent proceedings;" which circumstance, brings to my recollection a question, put by one of the gentlemen on the "Aborigines Committee," respecting the massacre of some of these self-exiled parties. Although before adverted to, both these facts demand a moment's notice. These, it must be remembered, are some of the men who have all along been contending that there is no prospect of safety or tranquillity in the colony, unless the natives—in the very midst of whom they have thus thought proper to place themselves—be driven back out of their way! They appear to be exclusively Dutch; to whom, as already intimated, the Emancipation Bill has given huge offence;* and to whom also his late Majesty's non-confirmation of the governor's arrangements, respecting Kaffer territory, seems, as we anticipated, to have been little less pleasing. But it surely will not, from hence, be argued, that "recent proceedings"—obviously embracing the two great measures just mentioned—were, therefore, really and truly objectionable!

As to the second fact—if fact it be—it is certainly most distressing; but very far from surprising. This class of colonists, go where they will, cannot but take with them their well-known predilections, and prejudices, which al-

* Min. Evid. p. 436.

most inevitably prevent their treating the Aborigines with the respect due from man to man ; and which are sure, in one way or other, to break out in acts of hostility, if unable otherwise to carry out their designs. Those unhappy prejudices, although by no means so strong, or so extensively influential as formerly, nevertheless exist, as is sufficiently demonstrated, even in the recent government despatches, wherein it is made matter of *official* complaint, that, although entreated, in the name of the governor himself, the boors, to a man, refused to allow any of the little Fingoo children, whom his Excellency had humanely taken under his care, to ride in any of their wagons, when unable to keep up with the troops.† Apart, however, from this consideration, is it at all likely that such a body of strangers could possibly force its way with slaves, horses, flocks, and herds, amongst the tribes of the interior, without at least disturbing some of them ; or without arousing suspicion in all, as to their ultimate designs ? Besides, it must not for a moment be supposed that the latter have forgotten the dark and dreadful transactions, so lengthily and affectingly detailed in evidence, and in the parliamentary papers of 1835, as well as in almost every other work extant on Southern Africa—transactions, to which, there is too much reason to fear many of these men were, less or more, accessory ; which cannot even be glanced at without pain ; and upon which we have no wish whatever to dwell.

† Parliamentary papers concerning the war, p. 37.



BY THE SAME AUTHOR,

TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES

IN

CAFFARIA;

DESCRIBING THE CHARACTER, CUSTOMS, AND MORAL CONDITION OF THE
TRIBES INHABITING THAT PORTION OF

SOUTHERN AFRICA;

WITH

Historical and Topographical Remarks,

*Illustrative of the state and prospects of the British Settlement in its borders,
the introduction of Christianity, and the progress of Civilization.*

12mo. Mason, London.

"The physical constitution of the natives, the qualities of their minds, their domestic state and political institutions, their system of war and public security, their arts and arms, together with the singular customs and degrading superstitions, universally prevalent among them, have all been points of diligent inquiry, with our author, for years; and in illustration of these topics he furnishes us with much useful historical, topographical, and scientific information, with a connected account of the introduction of christianity, and an interesting view of the progress of civilization, and the prospects of Africa. * * * The work is embellished by a map, and five highly finished engravings. We have perused it with great pleasure, and cordially recommend it to our readers, assured that the amusement and instruction they will derive from its pages, will amply repay their trouble."—*Imperial Magazine*, Jan. 1834.

"The work of Mr. Kay is creditable to his industry, and good feeling,—furnishing numerous and pleasing traits illustrative of the Kaffer character, with accurate descriptions of native manners, customs, forms of judicature, laws, &c.; together with occasional views of the natural productions of the country. We have further a most important history of the frontier trade, with minute accounts of its articles of commerce, taken from cotemporary and authentic sources."—*Athenaeum*, Nov. 1833.

"The volume before us, is another monument to the credit and honour of the missionary cause. It furnishes one of the best arguments possible on behalf of missions, and shows that missionaries are men of taste, and science, as well as pious devotion to the interests of christianity. Those who wish to become fully acquainted with the intellectual, moral, and social state of the African tribes, must furnish themselves with Mr. Kay's Researches."—*Evangelical Magazine*, Jan. 1834.

"We thank Mr. Kay for his 'Researches,' and hope many of his brother missionaries will follow the example that has been set in the present work, and in the publications of Dr. Philip, and Mr. Ellis, in communicating information respecting the tribes among whom they have been resident. It contains a good deal of valuable information. * * * The accounts which Mr. Kay gives of the system of military reprisals, &c. afford a humiliating picture of European policy and humanity. * * * They will not fail, we trust, to attract due attention in the proper quarter, and lead forthwith to that thorough investigation which appears to be imperatively required for the purposes of justice, as well as for the vindication of the national character."—*Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1834.

"We hesitate not to say that such works as Mr. Kay's,—which contains ample, and curious information on the various subjects enumerated in its title—should be introduced into christian families, and all public libraries, in preference to many others professing to describe foreign countries, and their inhabitants; because, while they are calculated to delight and edify the mind, they tend to awaken an interest in such hallowed undertakings as that to which Mr. Kay principally devoted himself. In the last chapter, the author states some truths well worthy the serious consideration of politicians, and statesmen; which point out the oppressions under which the Caffrarians labour; and from which, they ought, in justice to themselves, and for the credit of our national character to be delivered, in order to convert enemies into friends, and prepare them savingly, and extensively to receive the unsearchable riches of Christ. * * * We most cordially wish the work may obtain an extensive circulation; not doubting, that in proportion to its circulation, the interests of christianity will be promoted."—*The Methodist New Connexion Magazine*, June, 1834.

"The civilization of the immense savage population, with which the

British possessions in Southern Africa are environed, is becoming every day, both in a moral and political sense, a matter of deep and increasing moment. Under this impression, we have perused the small but judicious work before us, with feelings of great interest. With extensive opportunities for observation, the present author combined a spirit of investigation, and the advantage of much general information; so that independently of its serious object, the work is valuable as a book of travels, and contains more miscellaneous information than a single volume, of such a size, would seem to promise."—*New Monthly Magazine*, Nov. 1833.

"The author of 'Caffrarian Researches' is well known to our readers by his frequent, and graphic contributions to the 'Missionary Notices.'

* * * Mr. Kay's volume reflects great credit upon his judgment, and research.—Passages, there are, of powerful reasoning, and vivid illustration; the latter, especially, being sometimes embodied in a style of considerable fluency, and vigour.—The work contains information respecting the minutiae of Kaffer customs, and habits, which will be sought for in vain, in the works of any of our African travellers; but its principal interest, and value, arise from the authentic intelligence which it contains of the progress of christianity, and of the comforts of civilized life, among a people proverbially barbarous, and wretched; and as such, we cordially recommend it."—*Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, Nov. 1833.



W. DEARDEN, PRINTER, NOTTINGHAM.

1

